AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XIX OCTOBER, 1944 NUMBER 3

Designations for Colored Folk . . . . . H. L. MENCKEN 161
Equivalents of 'Please': the Softened Imperative in Present-Day English . . . . . MARGARET M. BRYANT 175
'Australian' Rhyming Argot in the American Underworld . . . . . D. W. MAURER 183
Charles Sealsfield's Americanisms (III) . . . . JOHN T. KRUMPELMANN 196
The New Element in American English . . . . . M. M. MATHEWS 200
Notes on Indiana Speech . . . . . V. E. GIBBENS 204
Phonetic Transcription 207
Editorials and Reviews 211
Leonard Bloomfield, *The Loom of Language* by Frederick Bodmer; Kemp Malone, *The Fate of French -é in English; The Plural of Nouns Ending in -th* (S.P.E. Tract No. LXI) by C. T. Onions; Professor Stewart Comments on 'Hoere(n)kil.'
Bibliography 217
Among the New Words 222
Miscellany 227

Editor, WILLIAM CABELL GREET, *Barnard College*
Managing Editor, ELLIOTT V. K. DOBBIE
Associate Editor, JANE DORSEY ZIMMERMAN
Editorial Associates
LOUISE POUND, HARRY MORGAN AYRES, HOWARD J. SAVAGE
HAROLD W. BENTLEY, ALLEN WALKER READ

ADVISORY BOARD

1943–1944

HENRY ALEXANDER, *Queen's Univ.*
EINAR HAUGEN, *Univ. of Wisconsin*
MARGARET M. BRYANT, *Brooklyn College*
GEORGE R. STEWART, *Univ. of California*
G. P. WILSON, *No. Car. Woman's College*
DELANCEY FERGUSON, *Western Reserve Univ.*

1944–1945

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, *New York Univ.*
E. E. ERICSON, *Univ. of No. Car.*
JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE, *Univ. of Virginia*
R-M. S. HEFFNER, *Univ. of Wisconsin*
JAMES B. MCMILLAN, *Univ. of Alabama*
S. I. HAYAKAWA, *Illinois Inst. of Technology*

CONTRIBUTORS' COLUMN FOR OCTOBER, 1944

¶We are happy to be able to present in this issue another article from the typewriter of H. L. MENCKEN. ¶D. W. MAURER and JOHN T. KRUMPELMANN have been active contributors to *American Speech* for many years, and require no introduction to our readers. ¶MARGARET M. BRYANT is Professor of English at Brooklyn College; she is the author of *English in the Law Courts* (1930) and, with Janet R. Aiken, of *Psychology of English* (1940). Her paper, 'Equivalents of "Please," ' was read at the New York meeting of the American Dialect Society last Christmas. ¶M. M. MATHEWS, formerly a member of the staff of the recently completed *Dictionary of American English,* is now at the head of the newly created Dictionary Department of the University of Chicago Press. With a small staff he is engaged in the preparation for the Press of a dictionary that will include only those words and meanings of words which arose in this country. ¶V. E. GIBBENS, of the English Department of Purdue University, is now on leave of absence for war work with the Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation. A native of Indiana, he has studied and taught in Illinois, Colorado, and Michigan. 'Notes on Indiana Speech' is his first contribution to *American Speech,* but he has published elsewhere a number of articles on American literature and culture. ¶We regret to announce that because of the pressure of other work, DWIGHT L. BOLINGER has been forced to relinquish the editorship of our popular department, 'Among the New Words.' All our gratitude goes to Professor Bolinger for his devoted labors, during the past three and a half years, in the interests of *American Speech.* We consider ourselves and our readers fortunate that I. WILLIS RUSSELL, of the University of Alabama, has consented to carry on Dr. Bolinger's work, beginning with this issue. Professor Russell is an old contributor; his article on the verb 'highball' appeared in *American Speech* in February of this year.

American Speech is published four times a year (No. 1, Feb.—No. 2, Apr.—No. 3, Oct.—No. 4, Dec.) by Columbia University Press: Single copies, $1.00 (foreign, $1.10)—$4.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, $4.30). Subscribers should notify the Publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect.

Manuscript, editorial communications, and books for review should be addressed to The Editor of *American Speech,* Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Subscriptions and business correspondence should be addressed to *American Speech,* Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, or 450 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis.

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1938, at the post office at Menasha, Wis., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1944 by Columbia University Press.

AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XIX OCTOBER, 1944 NUMBER 3

DESIGNATIONS FOR COLORED FOLK

H. L. MENCKEN
Baltimore, Maryland

WHEN THE New York *Times* announced in an editorial on March 7, 1930, that it would capitalize the word *Negro* thereafter, there were loud hosannahs from the Aframerican intelligentsia, for (with an exception to be noted) they seemed to be convinced that lifting the word out of lower case would also give a leg up to its bearers. The decision of the *Times* was inspired, according to its own account, by Major Robert Russa Moton, then principal of Tuskegee Institute, but he was by no means the originator of the movement, nor was the *Times* the first American newspaper to yield. The true pioneer seems to have been Lester Aglar Watson, a colored journalist hailing from St. Louis, who, after a varied career on both Negro and white newspapers, was made minister to Liberia in 1935. 'In 1913,' he says of himself in *Who's Who in America,* 'with coöperation of Associated Press, started movement for capitalization of *N* in *Negro.*' He does not give the name of the first newspaper to be fetched, but by the time the *Times* succumbed there were already some important ones in his corral—among them, the New York *World, Herald Tribune* and *Telegram,* the Chicago *Herald-Examiner* (Hearst), the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican,* and the Brooklyn *Eagle.* Moreover, he had made some converts in the South, even in the Deep South—for example, the Montgomery (Ala.) *Advertiser* (then edited by the late Grover Hall), the Durham (N.C.) *Sun,* and the Columbus (Ga.) *Ledger.* Yet more, he had persuaded a number of national magazines, including the *Atlantic Monthly,* the *Nation,* the *New Republic,* the *American Mercury,* and *Time.* Finally, he had rounded up several government agencies—for example, the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Education and the whole Department of Commerce. But the surrender of the *Times* was hailed as a crucial victory in the long war, and when it was followed three years later by that of the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office, which sets the style for the *Congressional Record* and is generally followed by other government publications, there was a renewal of the rejoicing.

The one dissentient was George S. Schuyler, columnist since 1924 for the Pittsburgh *Courier,* contributor to many white magazines, author of 'Black-No-More,' father of the *Wunderkind,* Philippa Schuyler, and the best Negro journalist, and by long odds, ever heard of. On March 15, 1930, only a week after the *Times* had come into camp, he broke out in the *Courier* with the following:

It really doesn't matter a tinker's damn whether *Negro* is spelled with a small or large *N,* so far as the Negro's economic, political and cultural status is concerned. The gabble, mostly senseless, to the contrary has vastly amused me; for, if anything, it is worse to spell *Negro* with a large *N* than with a small one, and if I had my way I would discontinue it. . . .

The truth is that the American Negro is an amalgam of Caucasian, Amerindian and African, there being but 20 per cent. 'pure,' and those are the only ones entitled to the term *Negro* when used as a descriptive adjective. Geographically, we are neither Ethiopians or Africans, but Americans. Culturally, we are Anglo-Saxons.

Used as a noun, the term is therefore a designation of a definite social caste, an under-dog, semi-serf class which believes it is dignifying its status by a capitalization of the term by which it is called and recognized. This is the same thing as arguing that an imbecile is somewhat ennobled by spelling the word with a capital *I* or that a convict has his status improved by spelling the word with a capital *C.* Lifting *Negro* from the lower case to the upper typographically does not in the least elevate him socially. As a matter of fact, it fits right in with the program of racial segregation. As *negroes* we are about 3,000,000 strong, as *Negroes* we are 12,000,000 strong; as *negroes* we are a definite physical type, as *Negroes* we are a definite social class. It is significant that Southern newspapers and magazines were more ready and willing to make the change in *Negro* than the Northern publications. The former are ever eager to make the Negro satisfied with his place; the latter based their objections on etymological and grammatical grounds. . . .

The possession of physical characteristics or ancestry different from other people by any citizen should not be constantly emphasized and brought to the attention of newspaper readers, especially in this country. The interests of interracial peace demand the abolition of such references and we ought to fight for that and lose no time trying to get white folks to 'dignify' a socio-chromatic caste system established and maintained by them for their own convenience and economic advantage. There is something ridiculous about a so-called *Negro* bellowing against color discrimination and segregation while wearing out his larynx whining for a glorification of his Jim Crow status in society through capitalization of the *N* in *Negro.*

Mr. Schuyler returned to the subject many times afterward. Thus on July 17, 1937:

Negro clearly belongs with *blonde, brunette, ruddy, mulatto, octoroon* and such descriptive terms, and has no stronger claim on capitalization. . . . Capitalized, it tends to bolster the *status quo,* and thus is at best conservative and at worst reactionary, for it discourages differentiation and strengthens the superstition that 'all coons are alike.'

And again on March 20, 1943:

Negro is either an adjective meaning black or it is a caste name like *Sudra.* When we eagerly accept it as a group designation, regardless of our skin tint, we are accepting all the 'racial' nonsense of Hitler, Bilbo, and the myriads who believe as they do—at least in the day time.

But Mr. Schuyler's iconoclastic position got no support from the general run of American colored folk, nor from their accepted fuglemen and haruspices. Even so generally non-conforming a spokesman of the race as the late Dr. Kelly Miller was moved, in 1937, to argue for *Negro* in *Opportunity,* the organ of the National Urban League:[1]

> A printed list consisting of Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Jews and *negroes* would evidently be a case of unexplained typographical discrimination. If it be said that *Negro* is not derived from a country or geographical division, as other racial designations are, an adequate rejoinder would be that neither is *Jew.*[2]

In the first days of slavery, Dr. Miller said, the slaves were called simply *blacks,* and even after interbreeding lightened their color the term continued in use 'in a generic sense.' Then came *African,* which 'was accepted by the race in the early years, after it first came to self-consciousness,' and still survives in the titles of some of its religious organizations, *e.g.,* the *African* Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. (This, according to the *Dictionary of American English,* was during the first half of the Eighteenth Century.) A bit later *darky* or *darkey* began to be used, and 'at first it carried no invidious implication.' (The *DAE's* first example is dated 1775). Then came *Africo-American* (1835 or thereabout), but it was too clumsy to be adopted.[3] After the Civil War *freedman* was in wide use, but it began to die out before the end of the 70's.[4] In 1880 *Afro-American* was invented by T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the New York *Age,* and it still survives, but only in rather formal usage.[5] 'Mr. Fortune,' said Dr. Miller, 'repudiated the word *Negro* because of the historical degradation and humiliation attached to it.' At some undetermined time after 1900 Sir Harry Johnston, the English African explorer and colonial administrator, shortened *Afro-American* to *Aframerican,* but the latter

---

1. '*Negroes* or Colored People?,' May, 1937, pp. 142-46.

2. Here Dr. Miller slipped. The *New English Dictionary* says that *Jew* was 'originally a Hebrew of the kingdom of Judah.'

3. It survives, however, in the name of the *Africo-American Presbyterian,* a weekly published since 1879 by the Negro Presbyterian Church at Charlotte, N.C.

4. Many other terms, now obsolete, were used in that era, *e.g.,* the abbreviation *f.m.c.* (free man of color). Carl Sandburg says in his *Abraham Lincoln: the War Years* (New York, 1939), Vol. II, p. 137: 'Demurrings arose to Lincoln's progressions in styling the Negroes, in 1859, *negroes;* in 1860, *colored men;* in 1861, *intelligent contrabands;* in 1862, *free Americans of African descent.' Contraband* came into use in 1861, when General Benjamin F. Butler issued a proclamation declaring slaves owned by Confederates contraband of war, but it was forgotten by 1870.

5. It is the name of a Negro newspaper of wide circulation and influence, published in Baltimore with local editions in other places. The readers of the paper in Baltimore call it the *Afro,* and it so refers to itself. 'It is interesting to note,' said Dr. Miller, 'that the *Africo-American Presbyterian* and the *Afro-American,* which stress their names in heavy type at the head of their papers, rarely use these terms in their news service or editorial columns.'

has had but little vogue.[6] After rehearsing, in his article, the history of all these appellations, Dr. Miller turned to *Negro* and *colored,* and proceeded to discuss their respective claims to general adoption. The latter, he concluded, could not qualify, for it was properly applicable to any person not white, including Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Mexicans, and had been so applied in various State laws, and even, at least by inference, in Federal population statistics.[7] Thus his reasoning:

> Try, if you will, to express the idea involved in *Negro* art, *Negro* music, *Negro* poetry, *Negro* genius, the *Journal of Negro History,* the *Journal of Negro Education* and the *Negro Handbook* in terms of the word *colored* and see what a lamentable weakness would result from this substitution. . . . The term *Negro* is far superior to the term *colored* in grammatical inflection, for it may be used either as a noun or as an adjective, whereas *colored* has no nominal equivalent. Unlike the words *black* and *white,* it does not pluralize into a noun. . . . The word *people, race* or *persons* must be added to give collective or plural effect. . . . This handicap is seen in the possessive case. . . . Again, the word *Negro* may be easily inflected into *Negroid* by adding the Greek ending *-oid,* which implies likeness or resemblance to. This term may be used either as a noun or an adjective, and forms an apt designation of the derivatives of African blood now scattered through the world.

Dr. Miller admitted that 'such terms as *colored lady, colored gentleman* and *colored society*' sounded 'more polite than the corresponding Negro equivalents,' but argued that the preference for them probably grew out of 'that to which the ear is accustomed.' He went on:

> Many of the off-colored group object to the term *Negro* because it serves as a reminder of the humiliation and degradation through which the race has passed. The fact that *Negro* is now used to describe the group does not indicate any lesser degree of appreciation or esteem. . . . Any race or group, in the long run, will derive its reputa-

---

6. It was preceded, and probably suggested, by *Amerindian,* a name for the American Indian coined by Major J. W. Powell, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in 1899. *Amerindian* was quickly displaced by *Amerind,* which is still in use. In South Africa a similar quest for a sonorous designation for themselves has been carried on by the natives. 'Their latest choice,' said J. A. Rogers in *Sex and Race* (New York, 1941), p. 131, 'is *Eur-African.*' But this is objected to by the whites, who say that they are the only real *Eur-Africans.* The term *Afrikander,* which might well designate the blacks, is already monopolized by the whites. In Liberia the descendants of returned American slaves who constitute the ruling caste of the country used to call themselves *Americo-Liberians* to distinguish their group from the general mass of blacks. But I am informed by Mr. Ben Hamilton, Jr., formerly of the Liberian consulate in Los Angeles, that this compound is now out of favor. He says: 'Because of the great amount of intermarriage between the descendants of colonists to Liberia from America with aborigines of the Negro republic, and because of a wave of nationalism that is sweeping the country, Liberians consider the term *Americo-Liberian* opprobrious as reflecting upon their [ancestors'] condition of servitude in the States. Hence they prefer to be called *civilized* or *Monrovian Liberians* to distinguish them from the natives of the hinterland, who are generally called by their tribal names.' Monrovia is the capital of Liberia, and the home of virtually all its *noblesse.*

7. Mexicans were not formally classified as white until the 1940 Census. Before that they were lumped with 'other races.' Very few of them, of course, are actually white, even in part. The change was made in furtherance of the Good Neighbor policy.

tion from its character and worth, and not from the appellation by which it is known. . . . Sensitiveness about a name is always a sign of the inferiority complex.

Dr. Miller, going further than most other advocates of *Negro,* was also willing to accept *Negress,* which is intolerably offensive to most high-toned colored folk. Here the iconoclastic Schuyler agreed with him, saying,

If we accept the term *Negro* there is no sound reason for spurning *Negress,* and yet its use is discouraged and condemned without, of course, any sensible argument being advanced for this position. I understand Jews are similarly unreasonable about the term *Jewess.*[8]

But despite this agreement of two high Negro authorities, the *Atlantic Monthly* got into hot water when, in October, 1935, it used *Negress* in an editorial reference to a colored contributor, Miss Juanita Harrison, author of a serial entitled 'My Great, Wide, Beautiful World.' Moreover, it added to its offense by speaking of the lady by her given name alone, without the *Miss.*[9] Protests came in promptly, and one of them, from Isadore Cecilia Williams, of Washington, was printed in the issue for December, along with an editorial explanation. I take the following from Miss (or Mrs.?) Williams's letter:

Negress . . . is obnoxious to Negroes chiefly because of the sordid, loose, and often degrading connotations it has been forced to carry. From the standpoint of etymology I believe I am right in saying that the use of *ess* as a suffix to designate the women of any race is practically obsolete. Out of courtesy to a race and a sex I suggest that you hereafter discard the offensive term *Negress.*

It was petty, to say the least, to refer to Miss Harrison as *Juanita* in the editorial preface to her letters. Perhaps it is mere class distinction, but class distinction should be beneath the dignity of your pages. A witness in a recent kidnapping case, though only a nursemaid, was referred to as *Miss* Betty Gow. Certainly Miss Harrison, whose honesty you commend and whose native intelligence merited a place in your pages, deserves at least common courtesy at your hands.

To this the editor of the *Atlantic* replied somewhat lamely that he 'really did not know that the word *Negress* carried a derogatory connotation.' 'I suppose,' he went on, 'that the feeling must come from the analogy of the suffix *-ess* being used throughout the animal kingdom.' In further confession and avoidance he cited the parallel terms, *Jewess* and *Quakeress,* conveniently overlooking the fact (maybe also unknown to him) that the former is vastly disliked by Jews. As to the use of her simple given-name in referring to Miss Harrison he said:

---

8. 'Views and Reviews,' Pittsburgh *Courier,* July 17, 1937.

9. Some of the Negro papers carry their liking for this honorific so far that they apply it to lady criminals. I take the following, for example, from the New York *Amsterdam News,* Jan. 15, 1944, p. 8-B: 'On the eve of her trial for fatally bludgeoning another woman to death [*sic*] last April, Beatrice Watson, 23, avoided a possible life term in prison last week by pleading guilty to second degree manslaughter. As a result Miss Watson will be faced with a penalty of not more than 15 years.'

In the correspondence regarding her which came from a former employer she was continually referred to as *Juanita,* and it was natural to transfer this designation to the *Atlantic.* We certainly meant no disrespect, for as you surmise, we thought her an honest, interesting and able character.

Other Negro publicists have proposed various substitutes for any designation pointing directly to color, among them *race* and *group.* According to Dr. Miller, *racemen* was suggested in 1936 or thereabout by Robert L. Abbot, editor of the Chicago *Defender.* Dr. Miller himself rejected it as equally applicable to a white man or an Indian and predicted that it would 'fall under the weight of its own ineptness.' It has, however, survived more or less, and *group* is really flourishing. Many of the Negro newspapers use *our group, group man, group leader,* etc. Some of them also use such terms as *brown-skinned* and *sepia* to get away from the forthright but usually inaccurate *black,* and in 1944 there was a *Sepia* Miss America contest operated by a committee in Boston.[10]

At present the surviving objection to *Negro,* now capitalized by nearly all American publications, takes two forms. First, there is a campaign against using it whenever a person of color comes into the news, on the ground that calling attention to his race is gratuitous, and usually damaging to the other members of it. Second, there is resentment of the unhappy fact that the word is frequently mispronounced, and tends to slide into the hated *nigger.* In the South it is commonly heard as *nigrah,*[11] and not only from white lips. Indeed, *nigrah* is also used by Northern Negroes, including some of the most eminent, as witness the following protest from a reader of the Pittsburgh *Courier.*

A great many professional Negro orators, prominent speakers, leaders and so on are speaking on the radio all over the country—on forums, 'March of Time' programs, etc. Nearly all make the one big noticeable error of pronouncing *Negro* as if it were spelled *nigro* or *nigrah.* . . . It is all the more noticeable when white people are on the same program. They pronounce *Negro* correctly, with the emphasis on *ne* and not *nig.*[12]

Worse, even the abhorred *nigger* is in wide use among the colored people themselves, especially on the lower levels. Said Lucius Harper, managing editor of the Chicago *Defender,* in 1939:

It is a common expression among the ordinary Negroes and is used frequently

10. 'Miss America Contest Plans Given to Public,' by Paul Davis, New York *Amsterdam News,* March 18, 1944, p. 6-A.

11. In *The Field, the Dungeon and the Escape,* by Albert D. Richardson (Hartford, Conn., 1865), p. 37, a Southern planter was made to use *nig-roe.* I have heard *niggero,* but only in sportive use.

12. This protest appeared May 15, 1943, in 'Yes! We All Talk,' a philological column conducted by Marcus H. Boulware. Mr. Boulware, in a note appended to the letter, said that '*ne* in *Negro* should rime with *see,* and *gro* with *grow.*'

in conversation between them. It carries no odium or sting when used by themselves, but they object keenly to whites using it because it conveys the spirit of hate, discrimination and prejudice.[13]

Nigger is so bitterly resented by the more elegant members of the race that they object to it even in quotations, and not a few of their papers spell it *n——r* when necessity forces them to use it.[14] On March 4, 1936, Garnet C. Wilkinson, first assistant superintendent of schools of Washington, in charge of the Negro public schools of the District of Columbia, actually recommended to Superintendent F. W. Ballou that *Opportunity,* for years a recognized leader among Negro magazines, be barred from the schools of the District on the ground that it used 'the opprobrious term *N——* in its publications on Negro life.' When news of this recommendation reached Elmer A. Carter, the editor, he naturally protested, and under date of March 11 received the following from Dr. Wilkinson:

It is contrary to a long established administrative policy, initiated and fostered by the school teachers and officers of Divisions 10-13 of the public schools of the District,[15] to recommend to the Board of Education the adoption of any textbook, basic or supplementary, magazine, or periodical known to make use of the term *N——* in its publication.

Textbooks published by white authors and making use of such material have been refused for adoption in our public schools. Textbooks have been withdrawn from the approved list for the same reason. Obviously, a textbook, magazine, or periodical published by a Negro should be subject to the same administrative policy. There can be no double standard of evaluating such school materials—one standard for white authors, another standard for Negro authors.

You are now advised that this office would be willing to recommend the placing of *Opportunity* on the approved list of magazines and periodicals for the public schools of the District if you, as editor, will give us the assurance that *Opportunity* will discontinue the policy of using any opprobrious term or terms in referring to the Negro.

Mr. Carter replied to this curious communication under date of March 17, as follows:

Even a casual examination of the magazine will reveal that your recommendation has been based on a total misconception of the use of the term *nigger* when it appears in *Opportunity*. That use is limited to quotations from other writers or is the reproduction in poem or story of the speech and conversation of characters who commonly use this term, and in both cases the word or the line in which it occurs is always set off by quotation marks, italics, or other literary and printing insignia.

---

13. Quoted in 'Journalistic Headache,' by R. E. Wolseley, *Ken,* March 9, 1939.

14. For example, I find the following on p. 1 of the Pittsburgh *Courier,* Nov. 1, 1941, in a dispatch from Due West, S.C., reporting the beating of a colored pastor, the Rev. B. J. Glover, Jr., 'because law officers of this prejudice-ridden town thought he was too uppity for a *N——r.*' Here, it will be noted the offending word was given a capital *N.* In the same dispatch occurred the following: 'Another officer said, "Let's teach that *D... N...* a lesson," and struck Rev. Glover.'

15. These divisions are made up of Negro elementary and high schools.

It should not be necessary for me to direct your attention to the fact that there is a vast and obvious difference in the use of a word or phrase in quotation and its use as a definitive term in the editorial contents of a publication, nor to affirm that *Opportunity* never employs any epithet of opprobrium in its columns except under the limitations mentioned above.

If impartially applied, the ruling of the Board of Education will achieve astonishing if not fantastic results. For by the same standards the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, *Harper's*, *Time*, the *Literary Digest*, the *Forum*, in fact, almost every magazine which on occasion publishes stories or articles involving the Negro, must likewise be removed from the list of magazines approved for the children in the Negro schools of Washington. By the same token the most authoritative books on the Negroes' status in America must of necessity fail of approval as suitable reading matter for Negro children in the District of Columbia. For this incredible decision would refuse approval to 'The Souls of Black Folk' and 'Black Reconstruction,' by DuBois; 'The Black Worker,' by Harris; 'Shadow of the Plantation,' by Johnston; the autobiography of Frederick Douglass; 'The Life and Works of Booker T. Washington,' the novels of Walter White, Chestnutt and Dunbar, and the poetry of Countee Cullen, Sterling Brown, Langston Hughes, to mention only a few.[16]

Nothing came of this effort to purge *Opportunity* of *nigger*. I am told by Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, that it is still used whenever required by 'a faithful description of real life situations,' though 'where it adds nothing to the context it is sometimes eliminated.' The same failure marked an effort to work up a boycott against Noxzema, a lotion popular among Negroes as among whites, because the credit manager of the manufacturing company had used the phrase *nigger in the woodpile* in a dunning circular to slow-paying druggists. This boycott was launched by an organization calling itself the National Commission on Negro Work, affiliated with the International Workers Order, and for a while a committee collected signatures to a paper demanding that the company 'apologize publicly,' discharge the offending credit manager, and 'open job opportunities for Negroes in your plant.' Every signer was invited to make a contribution to 'a collection to defray costs of promotion only' and so deliver 'a sock at Hitlerism,' but the company refused to be intimidated, and nothing came of the boycott. Nor did any greater success attend an attack by the same National Commission on the A. & P. stores for selling a *Niggerhead* stove-polish. But a year before this the New York *Amsterdam News* apparently had better luck with a crusade against the American Tobacco Company for offering a *Niggerhead* smoking-tobacco, for on March 20, 1943 the *Nation* announced that the brand would be withdrawn. *Nigger in the woodpile* is traced by the *DAE* to 1861, and is defined by it as 'a concealed or inconspicuous but highly important fact, factor or "catch" in an ac-

16. This correspondence was published in full in *Opportunity*, April, 1936, pp. 126-27.

count, proposal, etc.' Of the six examples that it gives, two are from the *Congressional Record. Niggerhead,* in the more refined form of *negro-head,* is traced to 1833, and defined as 'a low grade of strong, dark-colored tobacco.' It was used by Huckleberry Finn in contradistinction to store-tobacco. *Niggerhead,* in the sense of a piece of extraordinarily hard rock, goes back to 1847, and has been used in a report of the Smithsonian; it also appears in 'Chicago Poems' by Carl Sandburg, 1916.

Negro is not, of course, an Americanism. It is simply the Spanish and Portuguese word for 'black,' and was borrowed by the English during the Sixteenth Century. By 1587 a Northern English form, *neger,* had appeared, and it was from this that both the Irish *naygur* and the English-American *nigger* were derived. The *New English Dictionary*'s first example of *nigger* comes from a poem by Robert Burns, published in 1786. In the United States, in the spelling of *niger,* the *Dictionary of American English* traces it to Samuel Sewall's diary, 1700. But after that the *DAE* offers no example until the Nineteenth Century. *Nigger-boy* is traced to 1825, *nigger-wench* to 1837, *nigger-regiment* to 1863, *nigger-talk* to 1866 (*nigger* alone, meaning the manner of speech of Negroes, goes back to 1825), *niggerish* to 1825, *nigger-killer* to 1856, *nigger-luck* (meaning good luck) to 1851, and *nigger-heaven* (the top gallery in a theatre) to 1878. *Nigger-stealer,* once a term of opprobrium comparable to the *isolationist* of today, is not listed, and neither are *nigger-lover, nigger-job, nigger-mammy* and *nigger-gal.* There are many other derivatives. I have mentioned *niggerhead* in the sense of a lump of hard rock, and in that of coarse chewing and smoking tobacco. It is also used to designate the common black-eyed Susan, a variety of greenbrier, and one of cactus. After the Civil War it was used for a person in favor of full political equality for Negroes. There are a *nigger-duck,* a *nigger-goose,* a *nigger-weed,* and several kinds of *nigger-fish. To nigger off* means to divide a log into convenient lengths by burning through it, *to nigger out* means to exhaust the soil by working it without fertilizer, and *to nigger it* means to live meagrely. A *nigger* is a device used in sawmills to turn a heavy log, and also a defect in an electrical conductor, causing a short circuit. *Niggertoe* is a dialect name, in rural New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, for a Brazil nut, and was once used to designate a variety of potato. *To work like a nigger* is traced by the *DAE* to 1836, and *to let off a little nigger* to 1828. The use of *niggerhead* to signify a hard stone was no doubt suggested by the old American belief that the skull of the Negro is extraordinarily thick, and hence able to stand hard blows without cracking. That superstition is accompanied by one to the effect that the shins of the colored folk are extremely tender. The notion that they have an inordinate fond-

ness for watermelon belongs to the same category. This last is so far resented by high-toned Negroes that they commonly avoid *Citrullus vulgaris* in their diet as diligently as the more elegant sort of German-Americans used to avoid Limburger cheese.[17]

Before 1890, according to Dr. Miller, the Census Bureau 'sought to sub-divide the Negro group into *blacks, mulattoes, quadroons* and *octoroons,*' but found it 'impossible to make such sharp discriminations, since these divisions ran imperceptibly into one another.' It was upon the advice of Booker T. Washington that it began calling all colored persons of African blood *Negroes. Mulatto, quadroon* and *octoroon* have now almost disappeared from American speech. Of them, only *octoroon* seems to be an Americanism. *Mulatto,* which comes from the Spanish and Portuguese *mulato,* signifying a young mule, and hence a halfbreed, is traced by the *NED* in English use to 1595. Originally, the word meant the immediate offspring of a Negro and a white person, but by the beginning of the Eighteenth Century it was being applied to anyone of mixed white and Negro blood. In the early chronicles and travel-books it was spelled in a dozen different ways, some of them quite fantastic, *e.g., malatta, melatto, muletto* and *mulattoe. Quadroon* is a loan from the *quateron* of the Louisiana French, who borrowed it in turn from the Spanish *cuarterón.* The *NED*'s first example of *quarteron* is dated 1707; Thomas Jefferson used it in that form in 1793. In the form of *quatroon* it goes back to 1748 in English usage and to 1808 in American, and in the form of *quadroon* to 1796 and 1832 respectively. *Octoroon* is apparently more recent. There is no recorded trace of it before 1861, when Dion Boucicault used it in the title of a play. *Griffe,* another loan from the French of Louisiana, is now obsolete. It signified, according to Miss Grace E. King, quoted by the *DAE,*[18] a mixed breed one degree lighter than an *octoroon,* the series being *mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, griffe.*

The irreverent Schuyler, who does not hesitate to refer to the members of his race, in his column in the Pittsburgh *Courier,* as *Senegambians, tarbrushed folk* and so on, frequently discusses the opprobrious names that have been applied to them, *e.g., darkey, coon, shine, smoke, woolly-*

---

17. From 'Journalistic Headache,' by R. E. Wolseley, already cited, I take the following: 'The sports editor of a small Midwestern daily learned this unforgetably one Fall when he jokingly suggested that a good way to stop Ozzie Simmons, the great Negro football star from Iowa, was to roll a number of big juicy watermelons out on the field. . . . Telephone calls, letters and personal visits from the Negroes of the city made him realize he had hurt some feelings. A formal protest—a petition—from the local Inter-Racial Council brought the matter to the attention of the newspaper's managing editor.'

18. *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York, 1895), p. 333.

head, dinge and *boogie*. In 1936, when the Baltimore *Afro-American* started a holy war against 'My Old Kentucky Home' because *darkey* occurs in it, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People denounced the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin for using it in a radio speech, he said:

> Will some one who has the gift of logic and intelligence tell me what is the difference between *darkey* and *Negro*? . . . There can be no more real objection to *darkey* than there can be to *blondie*. It is a far more acceptable term than *wop* or *kike*. As my friend J. A. Rogers[19] once profoundly remarked, the difference between *Negro* and *nigger* is the difference between *sir* and *sah*. Granted that the overwhelming majority of Negroes are opposed to the use of these terms, I can see no point in constantly making a wailing protest against their use.

Coon, though it is now one of the most familiar designations for a Negro, apparently did not come into general use in that sense until the 80's; Thornton's first example is dated 1891 and the *DAE*'s 1887.[20] For many years before that time the term had been used in the sense of a loutish white man, and in Henry Clay's day it had designated a member of the Whig party. It came originally, of course, from the name of the animal, *Procyon lotor,* which seems to have been borrowed from the Algonquian early in the Seventeenth Century, and was shortened from *raccoon* to *coon* before 1750. 'How the Negro Got the Name of Coon' is the title of one of the stories in a collection of Maryland folk-lore published by Mrs. Walter R. Bullock, Jr., in 1898,[21] but all it shows is that the Negro who is the chief figure called himself a *coon,* and that the name was afterward applied to others. Why he did so is not explained, nor when. The popularity of the term seems to have got a lift from the vast success of Ernest Hogan's song, 'All Coons Look Alike to Me,' in 1896. Hogan, himself a colored man, used it without opprobrious intent, and was amazed and crushed by the resentment it aroused among his people. Says Edward B. Marks in *They All Sang*:[22]

> The refrain became a fighting phrase all over New York. Whistled by a white man, it was construed as a personal insult. Rosamond Johnson[23] relates that he once saw two

---

19. A Negro historian, already mentioned. He has published a number of valuable books on the history of his people, and accumulated an enormous store of illustrative material.

20. Walter D. Edmonds says in *American Notes and Queries,* May, 1941, p. 23, that 'Zip Coon, the blackface song, was being sung in 1834,' but it apparently did not lead to the application of *coon* to Negroes.

21. *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* Jan.-March, 1898, pp. 13, 14.

22. New York, 1935, p. 91.

23. The colored composer of 'Under the Bamboo Tree,' 'Oh, Didn't He Ramble,' 'Lazy Moon,' and other songs of the 90's, and also of the Negro anthem, 'Lift Every Voice and Sing.' The words of some of his songs were written by his brother, James Weldon Johnson (1871-1933), the best poet the race has yet produced.

men thrown off a ferry-boat in a row over the tune. Hogan became an object of censure among all the Civil Service intelligentsia, and died haunted by the awful crime he had unwittingly committed against his race.

'All Coons Look Alike to Me' was followed in 1899 by 'Every Race Has a Flag But the Coon,' by Heelan and Helf, two white men, and in 1900 by 'Coon, Coon, Coon,' by two others, Jefferson and Friedman, and from that time forward *coon* was firmly established in the American vocabulary.[24] The history of the other more or less opprobrious synonyms for *Negro* is mainly obscure. The *DAE* does not list *boogie* and its congeners, but reports that *booger* is an Americanism, traced to 1866, for a bogy. In 1891 a writer in *Harper's Magazine*,[25] quoted by the *DAE*, defined *boogah-hole* as 'the hiding place of cats and of children fleeing from justice' and of *boogars* or *boogahs*, 'whatever these mysterious beings may be.' It is possible that the suggestion of darkness developed *boogie* from *booger* or *boogah*. The latter form, however, hints at a Southern variant of *bogy* or *bogey*, which has been traced in England by the *NED*, in the sense of the devil, to 1836, in the sense of a goblin to 1857, and in that of a bugbear to 1865. In Baltimore, in my childhood, *boogie-man* was one of the names of the devil.

Buffalo as a designation for a Negro is not listed by the *DAE*, but it gives the word as used to designate a North Carolina Unionist during the Civil War; it has also been applied to the people of seaboard North Carolina in general. From the early Eighteenth Century down to 1880 or thereabout *Cuffy* was a generic name for a Negro, comparable to *Pat* for an Irishman. George Philip Krapp says in *The English Language in America*[26] that 'it is said to be derived from Dutch *Koffi*, in Guiana a common name for Negroes and by custom applied to anyone born on Friday.' The *DAE* calls it 'of African origin' and traces it to 1713. It had a rival in *Sambo*, which apparently arose, not in the United States, but in England. The *DAE* traces it to 1748 there and to 1806 here. In my boyhood *Cuffy* had disappeared and *Sambo* was being supplanted by *Rastus*.[27] During the same era *Liza* or *Lize* was the common name for a

24. In South Africa the term is sometimes used by the newspapers to designate a black native, apparently without derogatory intent. The following is from 'Stilt-Walker of Serowe,' by Norman Howell, *Cape Times* (Cape Town), Aug. 22, 1936: 'Why is stilt-walking a common thing among the *coons* of the Cape?' In the Virgin Islands, formerly under the Danish flag, the blacks are called *goons* or *goonies*. In 'Lazy Islands Come to Life,' Baltimore *Sunday Sun*, March 22, 1942, Lawrence H. Baker suggested that the *g* may be 'a gutteralizing of the *c* in *coon*, arising out of the Danes' attempts to pronounce the latter word.'

25. Oct., 1891, p. 825.

26. New York, 1925, Vol. I, p. 256.

27. The once very popular song, 'Rastus on Parade,' by Kerry Mills, was published in 1896.

colored girl. The *DAE* omits *dinge* and lists *dinkey* only in the adjectival sense of small, trifling. *Dinkey,* in the Baltimore of my nonage, meant a colored child. Webster's *New International,* 1934, lists *dinge,* but omits *dinkey* in the sense here considered. *Kink* shows an obvious allusion to the Negro's hair; the *DAE* says that *kinky,* as applied to it, is an Americanism, and traces it to 1844. When, in 1936, Cab Calloway, the Negro musician, used *kinky-head* in a broadcast, he was violently belabored by the radio critic of one of the Negro weeklies.[28] *Woolly-head* is first found by the *DAE* in Cooper's *The Prairie* in 1827; it was also used by Harriet Beecher Stowe in *Dred: a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* in 1856. During the Civil War era the term was applied, like *buffalo,* to Unionists.

Moke is traced by the *DAE* to 1856, but the word was used in England before this in the sense of a donkey. An amateur lexicographer calling himself Socrates Hyacinth, writing in 1869,[29] sought to derive it 'from Icelandic *möckvi,* darkness,' and called it 'a word chiefly in use among the Regulars stationed in Texas and in the Territories.' He added that it also had 'Cymric affinities, and was probably brought into currency by Welsh recruits who have occasionally drifted into the Army from New York City.' This suggestion of a possible Welsh origin was supported by an anonymous writer in the London *Daily Mirror* on November 28, 1938, who said that the etymology 'which receives the greatest expert support derives *moke* from the Welsh gipsy *moxio* or *moxia,* a donkey.' *'Moxio,'* he continued, 'existed some fifty years before the first recorded instance, in 1848, of *moke.* Moreover, about 1839 somebody of the name of Brandon records *moak* as a cant word of gipsy origin, and, at that time, mainly gipsy use.' The *NED* calls *moke* 'of unknown origin,' and Webster's *New International* marks it 'origin uncertain.' Ernest Weekley, in his *Etymological Dictionary of Modern English,*[30] suggests that it is 'perhaps from some proper name (*?Moggy*) applied to the ass,' and says that *Mocke, Mok, Mog* and *Mug* 'all occur as personal names in the Thirteenth Century and survive in the surnames *Mokes* and *Moxon.*' *Moke* was thrown into competition with *coon* in 1899 by the success of 'Smoky Mokes,' a popular song by Holzmann and Lind, but is now heard only seldom. *Pickaninny,* in the sense of a Negro child, is not an Americanism. It was in use in England so long ago as 1657, whereas the *DAE*'s first American example is dated 1800. The English prefer the spelling *piccaninny;* the word, in the past, was variously spelled *piccanini, pickoninnie, pick'ny, piccanin* and

28. The episode is recorded by Schuyler in the Pittsburgh *Courier,* Nov. 7, 1936.

29. 'South-Western Slang,' *Overland Monthly,* Aug. His article is reprinted in full in *The Beginnings of American English,* by M. M. Mathews (Chicago, 1931), pp. 151-63.

30. New York, 1921, p. 942.

picannin. It appears to be derived from the Cuban Spanish *piquinini,* meaning a small child, and it was taken into English in the British West Indies. It is used in South Africa precisely as we use it, but is commonly spelled *piccanin.* In Australia it designates a child of the aborigines, and has there produced a derivative, *piccaninny-daylight,* signifying dawn.[31] In the Baltimore of my youth *pickaninny* was not used invidiously, but rather affectionately. So, indeed, was *tar-pot,* also signifying a Negro child.

The *DAE* does not list such vulgar synonyms for *Negro* as *ape, eight-ball, jazzbo, jigabo* (with the variants, *jibagoo, jig, zigabo, zigaboo, zig*), *jit, seal, shine, skunk, smoke, snowball, spade, squasho* and *Zulu. Crow* is traced to 1823, when it was used by Cooper in *The Pioneers,* the first of the Leatherstocking tales. Whether it suggested *Jim Crow* or was itself suggested by *Jim Crow* I do not know. The *DAE*'s first example of *Jim Crow* is dated 1838, but that example includes the statement that ' "Zip Coon" and "Jim Crow" are hymns of great antiquity.' The *DAE* says, however, that Thomas D. Rice's song and dance, 'Jim Crow,' was written in 1832.[32] The verb phrase, *to jump Jim Crow,* appeared a year later. By 1838 *Jim Crow* had become an adjective and it was so used by Harriet Beecher Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* 1852; of late it has also become a verb. The *DAE*'s first example of *Jim Crow car* is dated 1861; of *Jim Crow school,* 1903; of *Jim Crow bill,* 1904; of *Jim Crow law,* 1904, and of *Jim Crow regulations,* 1910. On April 10, 1943, the *Nation* used *Jap Crow* in the title of an article on the internment of the Japanese of the Pacific Coast, but this Winchellism did not catch on. *Eight-ball,* without doubt, is derived from the game of pool, which is played with fifteen numbered and vari-colored balls, No. 8 being black. The *DAE* lists *blueskin* as an early synonym for Negro. It occurs in Cooper's *The Spy,* 1821, but had become obsolete before the Civil War. In Baltimore, in the 80's of the last century, the German-speaking householders, when they had occasion to speak of Negro servants in their presence, called them *die blaue.* In the 70's *die schwarze* had been used, but it was believed that the Negroes had fathomed it. In the Bronx, so I am informed by a correspondent, the Jewish housekeepers use *die gelbe,* with *ein gelber* in the singular. Without doubt *gelbe* has failed of its purpose as miserably as *blaue,* for the colored folk always penetrate the stratagems of the Caucasian, and chuckle over them in a sad but amiable manner.

---

31. *A Popular Dictionary of Australian Slang,* by Sidney J. Baker (second ed., Melbourne, 1943), p. 58. See also *Australian English,* by Edward E. Morris (London, 1898), p. 350.

32. Rice (1808-1860) was a comedian, playwright and song-writer, and 'Jim Crow' was only one of his songs that became popular. He is not to be confused with Dan Rice (1822-1900), an acrobat, circus clown and temperance orator.

EQUIVALENTS OF 'PLEASE': THE SOFTENED IMPERATIVE IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

MARGARET M. BRYANT
Brooklyn College

MY STUDY concerns one of the neglected aspects of American English grammar, the imperative mood. Whether or not the present-day grammars of English really present the grammar of present-day English, it is certain that they do less than full justice to this type of grammatical construction. Perhaps the reason is that because the imperative is mainly used in oral language, it does not figure largely in the material with which grammars are chiefly concerned.

Current school textbooks typically devote not more than a couple of paragraphs to the imperative mood. They define it adequately enough as the special form of the verb used to express command, request, or entreaty. They give a few examples, often in archaic English, such as 'Grant me thy aid' and Hamlet's 'Unhand me, gentlemen,' both from *Longman's Briefer Grammar* by George F. Smith. Occasionally they will mention the imperative with *let,* such as 'Let us try,' or the imperative with a variant subject, such as 'Somebody get a chair.' That is about as far as they go.

In our *Psychology of English* my co-author and I reviewed the fact that in current usage the imperative will often be found expressed by a statement or a question rather than by a formal command. We also noted the frequency in modern speech of the softened imperative, the request which is toned down in the interests of courtesy. We even suggested—prematurely as you will see—that such softened or muted imperatives may have already outnumbered the direct or unsoftened variety. Such sentences as 'Will you please close the door?' or 'You may close the door if you please,' or even 'Please close the door,' are prevalent today, and it seemed possible that on some social levels they may have supplanted the direct order, 'Close the door.'

In order to test this tentative conclusion, the imperative usages in five recent American plays have been analyzed. It was felt that the language of comedies should give a fairly truthful picture of current idiom, and that if there is any distortion it would be in favor of the direct imperative, since the drama is probably somewhat more tense and emotional than everyday life, hence more hospitable to this form. The study would thus be weighted, if at all, somewhat against our tentative conclusion.

My study includes all words and word-groups imperative in form, as well as what may be called imperative-equivalents, that is, statements and

questions with an obviously imperative intent. Thus 'On your way' is as good an imperative as the synonymous 'Get going.' 'You must behave yourself' is as much an order as it would be with the first two words omitted. On the other hand, the first word of 'Say, you look pretty dazzling,' was rated as being formally an imperative, even though it has no imperative force.

As I shall have to refer to these five plays frequently, I have attached a key letter to each; the number after the key letter indicates the page on which the quotation occurs. The five plays are *Without Love* (W) by Philip Barry; *Junior Miss* (J) by Jerome Chodorov and Joseph Fields; *The Skin of Our Teeth* (S) by Thornton Wilder; *Arsenic and Old Lace* (A) by Joseph Kesselring; and *The Time of Your Life* (T) by William Saroyan.[1] All five plays are written in contemporary American idiom, and all five, despite differences of financial level, deal mainly with the great American middle class. Altogether the five plays yielded 1287 items for analysis, S having the most with 326, and W the fewest with 165. Complete figures are given in the following table.

SUMMARY

	W	*J*	*S*	*A*	*T*	*Totals*
Total examples studied	165	273	326	270	253	1287
Imperative in form only	27	23	32	25	5	112
Fossils	15	15	22	20	3	75
Rhetorical	12	8	10	5	2	37
Revised totals	138	250	294	245	248	1175
Declaratives with imperative meaning	7	27	10	30	7	81
Direct	5	16	5	9	7	42
Softened	2	11	5	21		39
Interrogatives with imperative meaning	29	14	7	15	4	69
Direct	10		2	4		16
Softened	19	14	5	11	4	53
Plain imperatives	102	209	277	200	237	1025
Direct	74	142	225	119	210	770
Softened	28	67	52	81	27	255
Total direct imperatives	89	158	232	132	217	828
Total softened	49	92	62	113	31	347

In analyzing this material, it is first necessary to subtract 112 items from

1. All illustrations from *Without Love,* by Philip Barry, are cited with the permission of Coward-McCann, Inc.; those from *Junior Miss,* by Jerome Chodorov and Joseph Fields, and from *Arsenic and Old Lace,* by Joseph Kesselring, with the permission of Random House, Inc.; those from *The Skin of Our Teeth,* by Thornton Wilder, with the permission of Harper and Brothers; those from *The Time of Your Life,* by William Saroyan, with the permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.

the total of 1287, these being expressions imperative in form but not in meaning. The 112 examples fall into two groups. There is first the slang or stereotyped imperative which has lost its original nature and become a mild expletive. Thus in 'Take it from me, Jamieson, you're lucky,' the first four words are not intended to convey any command; they merely reinforce the main clause.

The most frequent among these expletives are the two distinctively American imperatives 'Say' and 'Listen.' Others in this category are 'Look here,' 'Mark my words,' 'Just think,' 'Believe me,' and 'Let's see.' An odd but also characteristically American example is 'We'll all live to see better days, knock on wood' (S 5).

Altogether seventy such items were found in the five plays studied. But it should be stressed that any one of the list may be a full imperative with the force of a command. 'Listen,' for instance, is more than once found as an order with its literal meaning; only when used as an expletive does it fall under the present heading.

A smaller group includes the rhetorical imperative, 37 all told, where this mood is used for purposes of a declarative, interrogative, or subjunctive sort, often ironic or emotional. 'For further information see your daily papers' (S 4) is classified here, because no actual request appears to be intended, just a statement giving the whereabouts of further facts. 'Then let the ice come' (S 37) seems to express a moment of despair rather than any literal command. And sometimes the effect desired is sarcastic: 'Go on; throw your money around' (S 71). S and W have most instances of this sort.

It is not always possible to say precisely what is the actual intent of these formal imperatives. 'But—but suppose he doesn't like me?' (J 40) might be translated 'But he may not like me' (statement) or 'But what shall I do if he doesn't like me?' (question). Here the playwright's punctuation rather favors the latter interpretation. On either basis, the imperative is obviously only formal.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that T has very few of these formal imperatives, or, indeed, of any other sort except the direct, unvarnished command. This may be due to the fact that T deals with less polite society than do the other four; or it may be due merely to the author's stylistic preferences. S is the nearest to T, in this respect, of the other four plays.

Subtracting the 112 items just discussed, which are imperative in form but not in meaning, leaves 1175 items. Of these, no fewer than 828 are of the direct type, showing that this is still predominant, if these plays are a fair criterion. Only A, of all the plays studied, shows the softened

forms approximately equal to the unsoftened in frequency. Lumping the five together, direct imperatives constitute about 70 per cent of the total, softened forms only about 30 per cent.

The next group of examples to be considered includes statements with imperative meaning. Some of these are direct and some are softened, but their common character as requests or commands is apparent from the following examples.

You can go right up (A 90).

Sell when the boom comes, if sell you must (W 57).

Maybe you'd better come back when—when my father is here (J 54).

All of these are softened imperatives. An instance of the direct variety is 'All you got to do is to act blasé' (J 40). The word *got* figures largely in this group; 'You've got to take the chance' is an example from the same page. Again the distinctively American character of these plays becomes apparent. Altogether there are 81 declaratives with imperative meaning in the five plays.

Expressions interrogative in form but imperative in intent numbered 69, and of these, all but 18 are of the softened variety. Here W is the most prolific, with 19 examples. The 'Why don't you' opening is frequent within this group.

Why don't we drive out and you lunch with me there? (W 111).

Care to come along? (W 138).

Aren't you going to try it on? (J 45).

Well, if you love me, won't you get the hell out of here? (A 110).

With these interrogative instances should be mentioned an undetermined number of question tags such as 'Won't you?' which may attach themselves to imperatives, ordinarily as a polite addition to break the direct force of the order. Typically the negative tag is used with a positive main clause, and *vice versa*. The last example just given, 'Well, if you love me, won't you get the hell out of here?' is of course a positive command, yet it employs the negative to sweeten the whole a bit; the use of *will* would have been even less courteous.

And now we may turn to the 347 examples in which our interest chiefly centers, the softened imperatives of whatever sentence form. It is my main objective to discover what means are used for blunting the edge of a direct command, and which are the most frequently employed, even though actual counting was not always practicable here, since there is so much overlapping and shifting of elements.

The most obvious of these means or methods is the use of the word

please. This word is called a verb by grammars and dictionaries, and it is a verb in the clause 'if you please,' although it looks to me like a plain adverb in its ordinary uses. Adverb or verb, only 47 instances of *please* were found in the five plays; and of these 20, or nearly half, occurred in J.

The most widespread equivalent of *please* found in these plays is the vocative, which very often mitigates the directness of an order. Thus 'Come in, my dear' (J 108) is far less sharp than 'Come on in!' (J 54), which latter is punctuated with the exclamation mark, probably to indicate urgency. Other examples follow.

> Don't move, ladies (J 41).
>
> Get yourself fixed up, Gladys, you look terrible (S 114).
>
> Now will you take it over, Mr. Fitzpatrick? (S 108).
>
> Don't bother, Miss Abby! (A 12).

Of course it would be quite wrong to say that every vocative has a softening effect upon an imperative. There are at least two other sorts of vocatives in the examples studied. The one is employed to designate the particular person addressed, as in 'Get me a glass of water, Lois, will you?' (J 130), where there might be uncertainty who was being addressed, without the vocative. The other is the opposite of a softener, as in 'Broken-down camel of a pig's snout, open the door!' (S 25). It is often a matter requiring judgment and a close study of the context to determine whether or not a given vocative is a *please*-equivalent. However, this was found to be the vocative's most frequent function in the plays studied.

A less frequent variant of the vocative just mentioned is the use of *you* with the imperative. In T 96, after ordering, 'Bet everything you've got on McCarthy,' Joe makes it more emphatic: 'You bet everything you've got on McCarthy.' Here the *you* does not appear to be a softening factor. But a few lines later Joe reassures Tom with 'You do what I tell you and everything will be all right,' where *you* does seem to be of this character.

'Now don't you ask them in!' (S 36) is not classified as a softened imperative, while in the same play 'George, you shut your eyes and get a good rest before the broadcast' (S 77) is grouped with *please*-equivalents. In W 6, Pat's 'Pull over to the curb, you' may be emphatic, or it may be the vocative of designation. There is no doubt that 'You go to hell, you' (T 182) is of the emphatic sort. Probably the pronoun *you* is less often a softening element than are other vocatives.

Judgment is necessary in evaluating the effect of the question tag, already mentioned as often constituting a *please*-equivalent. Thus the request, 'Hold on just a minute, will you, Al?' (A 52) seems properly classified as a softened imperative, although this may be in part the

effect of the vocative, and the classification would be clearer if the tag had been in the negative.

Question tags with the imperative were not very frequent in the plays studied, and occasionally they did not seem calculated to mitigate the directness of a command. 'Get going, will you?' (T 100) seems as much of an unsoftened order with as without the last two words. On the other hand, 'Talk to her, will you, Joe' (T 103) seems to be an imperative of the softened type. Again context and meaning must be considered.

A separate study might profitably be made of the grammar of the word *better* in present-day American English. It is coming to approximate a new auxiliary verb, as is also *got* or *got to*. Sometimes it is equivalent to *please,* as in 'Better check the oil too' (W 6). Sometimes it is used without any other verb, though this use might be called elliptical: 'No, you better not' (J 74). And sometimes, of course, it is used in the traditional adverb fashion: 'Perhaps you had better go to bed' (A 81). In every case, *better* serves to tone down a command, much as *please* would do.

Of somewhat the same character as *better* are *suppose* and *let,* which are found with fair frequency as *please*-equivalents. 'Oh, well, let's not argue about it' (A 103) is an example, and 'Suppose you let me be the judge of that' (W 34) contains both words, with a like effect. Occasionally, however, these verbs may not act as softening elements.

A simple negative often gives a distinct flavor to an imperative. 'Don't think I didn't think of that' (W 74) is very different from what it would have been with two affirmatives. 'Don't worry' and 'Don't bother,' which occur over and over in the five plays, are much more polite than their affirmative equivalents 'Be easy in your mind' and 'Let it alone' would be. The single word *Don't* is used very often in all sorts of ways to express in softened form sympathy, anguish, protest, and many other emotions.

This brings me to a word about the elliptical or fragmentary imperatives. There are not a very great many of these, but they are interesting when they do occur. Sometimes they consist of single words such as 'Quiet' or 'Easy' or 'Listen.' Then there are phrases, for instance, 'On your way,' 'Allez oop,' 'In a moment.' But probably the most frequent of the syncopated imperatives is the use of the hearer's name.

In A 7, 'Dr. Harper?' means 'Have another cup of tea.' In S 112 'Aristotle, Ivy' is notice to the character named Ivy to begin assuming the character of Aristotle. Elsewhere the proper name alone may be used as a summons to the telephone, to come along, to stop talking, to have a drink (oh, how frequently!), to go to bed, and almost anything else within its context. It is difficult to know whether to classify such vocatives

as commands, questions, or statements. They are of course dependent wholly upon context for their understanding, and their emotional character ranges from the severe to the ingratiating. Ordinarily they seem to be of a softened character.

To continue with the *please*-equivalents, it is noticeable that often it is simply the choice of words which renders a command sharp or sweet. Thus 'Won't you step in?' (A 52) is much sweeter than it would be if *come* or *walk* were substituted for *step*. 'Come, if you would' (W 131) is more ingratiating than if *will* were used. Numerous small adverbs such as *now, just, kindly* serve to sweeten orders. 'Anna, be an angel and take this upstairs' (W 16) derives its softened character from the word *angel* as well as from the vocative.

It is impossible in a paper of moderate length to do full justice to the softened imperatives of these five plays. They bring into play a tremendous range of grammatical doctrine. They may even be used to throw some light on the literary methods and excellence of the various authors, although this would be open to controversy, and I shall accordingly avoid it. They show the increasing operation of functional shift in English, words taking on new functions according to use rather than to grammatical category.

Perhaps it will be well here simply to list a few of the more interesting specimens which the discussion thus far has omitted to cover. Either they require no comment, or else they call for such extended analysis as to make them impractical to cover here.

I wondered if maybe you'd like to marry me (W 69).

[Of the speaker] Mr. Jamieson would like a drink (W 88).

So you will send up the luggage—in a little while (W 144).

No such familiarity if you please (W 161).

Hey, you two—not so early in the morning (J 91).

I'll have to ask you to wait a few minutes longer (S 33).

Miss Somerset, we insist on your playing this scene (S 83).

But you haven't tried the quince (A 5).

Not so much talk about Europe and more about the Canal (A 7).

Now, Mortimer, just forget about it—forget you ever saw the gentleman (A 40).

Take my grandfather [i.e., as an example] (A 108).

Please, Chonny, for me—the quick way, eh? (A 152).

Have yourselves a pleasant smoke (T 174).

There remains only to instance a few imperatives where the *please*-

equivalent quality is inflated to large proportions—commands so ingratiating as almost to be called abject. The words *if* and *ought* frequently figure in such expressions; an *if*-clause, without any main clause, may express the idea. This concluding group of examples embodies the extreme of the imperative softening we have been studying. The fact that the softening is now and then sarcastic does not affect its character.

Oughtn't you to be changing for dinner? (W 144).

Lois, maybe you could sort of—stay a while—be here when they come? (J 23).

Lois, will you kindly do me a favor and get those—those friends of yours out of here? (J 155).

Lois, will you kindly do me a favor and ask your—your friend to stop back some other time? (J 194).

Now if you'll get my room ready (A 83).

Will you kindly please come and test the instrument? (S 89).

If you just please begin the alphabet slowly (S 89).

'AUSTRALIAN' RHYMING ARGOT IN THE AMERICAN UNDERWORLD[1]

D. W. MAURER
University of Louisville
(In collaboration with Sidney J. Baker)

ONE CANNOT work long in American criminal argots without encountering stray bits of rhyming argot (*turtle-doves,* gloves), a type of cant used by British (and especially Cockney) thieves for more than a century.[2] American criminals refer to this type of argot as 'Australian,' and most of them believe that it stems from Australia. This belief is not illogical, since many expert criminals hail from Australia and since the rhyming argot is most widely used on the West Coast. Over a period of years I have been collecting this argot and noting its geographical distribution; recently I forwarded several hundred selected items to Mr. Sidney J. Baker, the Australian lexicographer, for checking against Australian usage. The results are given in the following pages.

First, a word about this argot and its use in the United States. Briefly, its notable features are the following: Each meaning is expressed by a pair of words the second of which rhymes (or rhymes imperfectly) with the meaning. The predominant rhythm of these pairs is either iambic or trochaic and usually carries over into the meaning, *dinky-dirt,* a shirt. The key word (a shirt) is not expressed but is left for the hearer to supply. There is frequently—too frequently to be coincidental—a connection between the sound and the sense, or between the imagery and the sense, or both. There is a tendency (notably less pronounced than in Australia) to clip one term and allow the other to carry the meaning even though it no longer rhymes, as *twist,* a girl, from *twist and twirl.* There is a marked lack of technical meanings, indicating that rhyming argot has never been specialized to any criminal craft; the more highly specialized crim-

1. Acknowledgments: To Mr. Clinton Sanders, of Norfolk, Va., and Mr. Joseph Blackwell, Jr., of Richmond, Va. for their assistance in contributing numerous additions to my word-list from their unpublished files. Mr. Sanders deserves credit for ingeniously devising the system for estimating the concentration of the so-called Australian argot by percentage. He has enlisted the assistance of others with intimate knowledge of the argots used within the prisons mentioned in this study. Once these percentages were estimated, it is notable that few of the informants who subsequently checked them disagreed materially with them. Acknowledgments are also due the men, who, over a period of ten years, have supplied and checked the basic materials of this word-list and supplied me with notes on the incidence of the rhyming argot in various localities.

2. Eric Partridge has included some modern Cockney rhyming slang in his useful *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English,* London, 1938.

inals do not use much of it. It is seldom used 'straight' but appears a phrase at a time intermixed with established American argots, to which it seems inferior in strength and color. It is predominantly an 'institutional argot' (an argot of prisons), although on the West Coast and especially in San Francisco it is current among many non-criminal groups. It differs from other argots in that it has a remarkably clear-cut geographical distribution.

With regard to the geographical distribution of 'Australian' argot, four points are significant: 1. It is most prevalent on the West Coast, especially in the vicinity of larger cities. 2. In spreading out over the country (assuming a West-East movement) it follows the well-worn travel-routes of criminals. 3. It appears in isolated prisons, but is notably absent from surrounding colloquial usage, except in areas like Chicago where criminal recidivists and convicts with West-Coast experience are common. 4. There is a relatively weak concentration of the argot in the larger East-Coast cities.

The rhyming argot enjoys most of its popularity within prison walls. The following table will perhaps give some idea of its concentration within the institutions and localities where it occurs in measurable quantities. For purposes of estimation, the rhyming argot was allotted a basic vocabulary of 500 words, although it is considerably larger if all the rarer coinages are included; this figure was kept in mind when estimating the concentration of rhyming argot in the speech of criminals in any given area. Although the figures in the table are given as percentages, they have actually only a sort of index value; they give a crude but, I think, fairly accurate idea of the relative degrees of concentration of this type of criminal speech.[3]

TABLE SHOWING RELATIVE CONCENTRATIONS OF SO-CALLED AUSTRALIAN ARGOT IN VARIOUS AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES

City	*Percent*
1. San Francisco and vicinity	10
Concentrations within the San Francisco area	
Alcatraz Federal Prison[4]	20

3. Very accurate figures arrived at as a result of a statistical break-down of argot elements in any given locality are highly desirable, but under present working conditions would seem virtually impossible to secure. A complete analysis of the argot used in any one prison system would be most helpful as a point of departure for further investigation of linguistic problems connected with the criminal.

4. Alcatraz is theoretically a 'silent house.' However, as one informant who has served time there comments, 'There is no way to keep hooks from talking, and even if there was, they still have their knowledge of the lingo.'

Folsom Prison (Recidivists' Prison)[5]	25
San Quentin Prison	20
2. Los Angeles and vicinity	05
3. Seattle and vicinity	05
4. Chicago and vicinity	05
5. New York and vicinity	05
6. Kansas City and vicinity	04
Concentrations within the Kansas City area	
Leavenworth Federal Prison[6]	04
Addicts' Prison at Leavenworth	04
Kansas State Prison (Lansing)	02
7. Atlanta Federal Prison	02
8. Georgia State Prison[7]	01
9. Boston and vicinity	05
10. Reno and vicinity[8]	03
11. New Orleans and vicinity	01
12. Salt Lake City and vicinity[9]	05
13. San Diego and Mexicali area[10]	03
14. Texas Prison System[11]	07

The areas listed, including both cities and prisons, hold relatively heavy percentages of criminals. British criminals generally work out of East-Coast port cities, while Australian criminals seem to concentrate on the West Coast, although many, especially confidence-men and thieves

5. Several men who know Folsom Prison believe that an estimate of 25% is too high, but all agree that more rhyming argot is used there than anywhere else. Since these estimates are only relative, the figure has been allowed to stand.

6. It will be noted that the percentage of rhyming argot is higher here than in other Federal Prisons in the Mid-West and the East; presumably this is because many of the Leavenworth men have had contact with the Chicago underworld.

7. While rhyming argot is not indigenous to Georgia, some is brought to the State prison by recidivists from Atlanta who have remained in Georgia and have run afoul of the State laws; relatively few professional criminals with Federal records remain in Georgia.

8. Criminals moving East from the San Francisco area like to stop over at Reno to rest up after prison sentences, and to try their luck at the gaming tables.

9. This area apparently owes its high percentage to the fact that many West-Coast criminals who 'pack the racket in' go there to settle down. 'For many years the Lake was known as a right city and it still has the reputation of being a good place to cool off in,' comments one professional. 'Many retired prostitutes and wealthy madams go there to live when they go off the racket.'

10. Here the situation parallels that at Reno; the criminal moving East from the Los Angeles area pauses in this area to gamble and get his breath. Some are picked up and sent to the Nevada State Prison, carrying the rhyming argot there.

11. The Texas prisons contain a rather high percentage of men who have done time on the West Coast. Between Mexicali and New Orleans there are very numerous *cooling-off spots* or hide-outs for West-Coast criminals. In addition, many thieves from the West Coast work the territory comprising Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

working England, South America, and the Continent, appear in Boston and New York; both occur in very small numbers compared to native American criminals. By the same token, these seaports, both East and West, are points of departure for American criminals who work the steamships and tourist cities of Europe and the Mediterranean on the one hand and China, Australia, and the Far East on the other. Thus it is obvious that American criminals are not at all dependent upon immigrant criminals from either England or Australia for their knowledge or rhyming argot.[12]

Now for a few remarks on the use of rhyming argot in Australia, condensed from extensive notes supplied me by Mr. Sidney Baker, who is perhaps better equipped than anyone else to deal with that subject. First, we must remember that Australia, even as our own early colonies,[13] was heavily settled by transported British criminals; in fact, transportation did not cease there until 1868. The result was that much criminal and semi-criminal slang was absorbed by the general population. Until about 1880 Australia was mainly a man's country; thereafter a relative balance between the sexes was established. There has been a terrific carry-over from the early days, which can be noted, for instance, in the strong masculinization of hypochoristic forms and the marked decolorization of numerous vulgarisms, but principally in the few categories into which Australian slang may be divided; it is rather a *lingua franca* of the public than the possession of special groups.[14] There appears to be developing

12. In this regard, it is interesting to note that few specialized criminals use much of this argot. Those who do know it appear to have learned it in prisons or from British or Australian criminals whom they have met in their travels. One informant suggests: 'The roving British and Australian thief have played their part in bringing the lingo to the racketlands of America, but the ones who have really brought the Australian lingo into our stream of speech have been the roving American thief and the good-time bims (chorus girls and fortune hunters) who have played between Frisco, Shanghai, and Sydney for the past fifty years. While we are on the subject let me tell you that the majority of the first-class hookers and the big-shot hooks and first-class con men and hustlers of Frisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, and other Western cities know the ports of the Orient as you know the Campus at Louisville.' The rhyming argot carries words for general purposes, but shows no tendency to specialize itself or to adapt itself to the needs of any particular profession. It is almost totally devoid of technical words.

13. There are still remnants of the traditions of transportation to the American Colonies in the American underworld. I have in my possession some envelopes in which an old-time thief mailed me his letters; in the upper left-hand corner he usually wrote some synthetic name or his initials, followed by a jocular and ironic 'F.F.V.'

14. On this point Mr. Baker notes: 'There are, of course, certain terms peculiar to con-men, thieves, harlots, etc., but they are not of sufficient bulk to be worthy of the description group-slang.' He adds that it might be possible to divide this Australian underworld slang into three groups, all decidedly overlapping: 1. General criminal

in Australia a well defined underworld argot but it is by no means stabilized. The vastness of the country, its small population, and the very small present-day underworld group all combine to make the creation and preservation of a strictly criminal argot difficult.

As the population increased it concentrated in cities, especially in Melbourne and Sydney, from which Australia's most accomplished vulgate emerged, along with the *larrikin* or hoodlum, who in his scores made up the *pushes* or gangs—brutal, tough, villainous, and a brilliant user of slang. The great days for the larrikin were between 1880 and 1900, although his antecedents are much earlier and he still thrives exceedingly well. But in those twenty years he did amazing things to the language, coining hundreds of new terms which have bred into thousands and form an exceedingly large proportion of the indigenous and current slang. The *larrikin* and the *push* represent what is probably the greatest leveling influence in Australian life, the common ground on which argot, slang, and colloquialism have met and fused.

Rhyming argot is used in Australia, but not to any great extent, and rather by the populace as a whole than by the underworld. Because of the widespread impression to the contrary in the United States, I quote Mr. Baker verbatim:

> I don't know to what unkind stroke of destiny is due the reputation in the United States that the Australian crooks talk in rhyming slang. . . . Nothing could be farther from the truth than the assertion by G. Irwin (*American Tramp and Underworld Slang*, 1931, p. 20) that Australian users of slang and cant speak 'with an affected English accent' in 'rhythmic and colorful couplets.' I have yet to hear a genuine Australian crook who would bother himself to imitate an 'English' accent; and I am sure that he would be unable to speak in 'couplets' for the simple reason that his greatest failing is to clip and abbreviate. . . . For instance, the Cockney rhymester would use *frog and toad* for road; *plates of meat* for feet; *almond rocks* for socks. It is unlikely that the Australian would get past *down the frog* for down the road; *plates* for feet; *almonds* for socks, and so on.[15]

---

slang. 2. Prison slang. 3. The less well-known forms of larrikin slang. However, in none of this slang is the rhyming system prominent. He gives samples of Australian criminal argot, of which several follow: *dog*, a railroad detective; *steel-jockey* or *scaler*, a train-jumper; *smear*, to murder; *in the line*, under police observation; *seventeener*, a corpse; *dump*, a cache for stolen goods; *squirt*, a revolver; *peter-school*, a gambling den; *yike*, a row or argument; *jay, snack, dill, soda*, an easy victim; *chinkie, chow, pong, dink, pat, paddy, dingbat*, a Chinese; *lash*, a trick; *camp*, any lodgings; to *twist, touch* or *rib* (a person), to swindle or cheat him; *scone* or *hot-scone*, a detective (by rhyme upon John, a policeman), probably influenced by the Australian use of *to go hot-scone for a person*, to abuse him. Says Mr. Baker, 'Here are just a few more examples to show that our underworld has the beginnings of an argot of its own; but the majority of these expressions are not confined solely to crooks.'

15. Letter, May 16, 1942.

Certainly Mr. Baker's view of the situation is reflected in his recent *Dictionary of Australian Slang,*[16] which lists only about two dozen rhyming terms in a collection of over 3,000 slang items. I say 'about' two dozen because rhyming slang does not always appear as such, as Mr. Baker points out in the case of *amster* or *ampster,* a crook's confederate, also known as a *ram;* a rhyme was made (*amsterdam,* a *ram),* but shortly the phrase was cut back to *amster,* and the origin, as well as the fact that it was rhyming argot, is obscured.[17] Hence I may have missed a few terms which are, or were, rhyming argot. We are safe, I think, in estimating the concentration of rhymes in Mr. Baker's collection at well under 1%. My figures show a much higher incidence of this type of slang in certain localities here than do Mr. Baker's for Australia.[18]

Perhaps the best summary—and the only one, to my knowledge, by an Australian scholar—comes from Mr. Baker's most recent book.[19] Says he:

> Reviewing the subject as a whole it can be said that rhyming slang has had much smaller currency in Australia than is generally realized. Australians are inclined to resist its use if only for the fact that it is a dull, unimaginative, foolish type of slang, and that there is little of the sharp, business-like nature of other Australianisms about it. What little authentic rhyming slang there is in this part of the world will usually be found in a disguised form. The periods of greatest popularity of rhyming slang in Australia have always coincided with wars. It first achieved note during the Boer War, then faded out and staged a come-back during World War No. 1. It has been revived during World War 2.

Now to turn to a specific analysis of the 'Australian' argot as found in the United States. Of the 352 terms included in this glossary, Mr. Baker finds that 314 are *not* used in Australia, and, to the best of his knowledge, have never had any currency there. Of the remaining thirty-eight terms, *only nine are definitely of Australian origin*[20] *and three have possible*

---

16. Melbourne, Robertson and Mullens, Limited, 1941, 84 pp.

17. Other instances from Australian slang are *Oscar* for cash, cut back from *Oscar Asche; knock-me* for billy (a tin pot), from *knock me silly; poddy* for two shillings and sixpence, from *poddy-calf* out of *half a caser* by an obscure rhyme on 'half'; *fiddley* for a pound note, from *fiddley-did,* a quid. *To have the jimmies* is to suffer from diarrhea, by an obscure rhyme on Jimmy Britts, a prizefighter, who toured Australia in the early years of the 20th century. These terms have not been encountered by this writer in the United States.

18. With all deference to Mr. Baker's scholarship, which is undoubtedly sound, we cannot rule out the possibility that he has as yet not tapped certain social areas where rhyming argot may be used.

19. *A Dictionary of the Australian Language,* prepared by commission of the Australian Government, and now in the press.

20. These terms are: *Captain Cook, cockie's clip, mad mick, Pat Malone, Sydney Harbor, Hawksbury Rivers, Cobar shower, Malee root,* and *Kennedy rot.* They will be amply annotated in the Glossary.

Australian origins. Of this group of thirty-eight, twenty-three (all of British origin) have been recorded at some time in Australia.[21]

Of the residue of 314 terms *not* used in Australia, Mr. Baker makes the following distribution:

75 have definitely been borrowed by the United States from England.[22]
34 have probably been borrowed by the United States from England.
34 may be either American or British in origin (definitely not Australian).
171 appear to have originated in the United States.[23]

Thus 340 out of the original 352 terms (or nearly 97%) are either American or British in origin. Only 12 (or slightly over 3%) are definitely or possibly of Australian origin. England has contributed 166 terms (or about 48%) of the total, and the United States 171, or about 49%.

In view of these figures, it would seem that the rhyming argot has been badly misnamed in the United States, for it appears to be anything but Australian in origin.[24] Once the system of forming this type of argot established itself in the United States,[25] it has grown by imitation until the imitative argot terms now outnumber those imported from Australia or England. It appears to be 'Australian' only in a trivial degree; it is infinitely more English (or Cockney) and still more is it indigenously American.[26] Because it is so firmly and widely established in non-standard

21. It should be noted that 32 of the total number of terms are found in Australia with different meanings, or with variant forms.

22. Of the total of 352 terms considered, 98 come definitely from British sources (75 of these being used in America and 23 used both in America and Australia), while 34 have possible and 34 have probable British origins.

23. Only 2 of the total of 171 terms apparently originating in America have been recorded in Australia. This is a strikingly small number in view of the known migration of criminals between the United States and Australia.

24. Says Mr. Baker on this point: 'The fault (in ascribing an Australian origin to this type of argot) is not that of American observers, but rather of Australians themselves or of people who did a hasty tour of these parts and then rushed off to write about it. The truth is, and as far as I can ascertain always has been, that while Australians have always used a little rhyming slang, it is certainly of insufficient bulk to be classed as an outstanding characteristic of our vernacular. The English—especially the Cockneys—are infinitely greater practitioners of rhyming slang than we are.'

25. The earliest example of rhyming argot in America which has come to my attention appeared in an early issue of the New York *Police Gazette* in the 1850's.

26. This is but a bare statement of an obvious conclusion in the light of the facts as collected. In interpreting these facts, certain problems arise to which I, frankly, do not have the answers: 1. In view of the distribution of so-called 'Australian' argot, how do we explain its concentration on the West Coast of the United States, and especially in San Francisco, the main port of entry from Australia? 2. In view of the fact that large numbers of British criminals were transported to Australia within relatively recent times, while on the other hand, the immigration of British criminals to America has been proportionately light, how did the rhyming system of argot arrive in the United States (and especially on the West Coast) without also taking root in Australia? 3. Whence arises the general belief among American criminals that this

usage, we may look for it to have an increasing influence upon the slang used by the public at large, a tendency which will doubtless be strengthened by the association of American soldiers with British and Australian troops who know and use some of the argot.

For reference to the following Glossary, Mr. Baker and I have agreed on the following symbols which will follow each entry:[27]

No. 1. The term is of Australian origin.
No. 2. The term is of English (probably Cockney) origin; *not* used in Australia.
No. 3. The term is used in Australia, but is not definitely No. 1 or No. 2.
  3a. Probably originally Australian.
  3b. Probably originally British.
  3c. Probably originally American.
No. 4. The term is used in Australia, but with different meaning, or in a variant form.
No. 5. The term is not used in Australia.
  5a. Origin uncertain, but probably American.
  5b. Origin uncertain, but probably British.
No. 6. Definitely of American origin, but recorded at some time or other in Australia.
No. 7. Definitely of British origin, but recorded at some time or other in Australia.

GLOSSARY[28]

A LA COMPLAIN. Rain. 2. *A la compain* in England, 1859.
ALL AFLOAT. A coat. 2. England, 1859.
ANDY McGINN. The chin. 5a.
APPLE AND BANANA. A piano. 5a or 5b.
APPLE PIES. The eyes. 5b.
ARTFUL DODGER. A lodger. 2. England, 1857.
ARTICHOKE RIPE. A pipe. 2. England, 1855. In Cockney slang, to smoke a pipe.
BACON AND EGGS. The legs. 3b.

---

system is of Australian origin? 4. Is it not possible that this type of argot may have gone 'underground' in Australia, as it has in America, with the result that it has not been tapped by conventional surveys and studies? With Americans widely distributed over the Orient and in Australia and Great Britain, it may be that some of them will see this study and find an opportunity to shed some light upon the questions raised above.

27. A digest of the distribution of terms in the Glossary based upon these symbols follows:

No. 1—9 terms
No. 2—75
No. 3a—3
No. 3b—2
No. 3c—1
No. 4—32
No. 5a—171
No. 5b—34
No. 5a or 5b—34
No. 6—2
No. 7—23

28. The annotation 'England, 1859' following an entry indicates that it appeared in J. C. Hotten's *The Slang Dictionary* published in 1859, while 'England, 1857' refers to the term as printed in *The Vulgar Tongue* by 'Ducange Anglicus,' 1857; both are glossaries of British underworld cant. Other dates indicate the earliest known appearance of the term in either England or Australia and have been supplied by Mr. Baker from his own files. Little if any printed data is available on earliest appearances in the United States, although assiduous research in obscure or unpublished Americana in the late 19th or early 20th century might yield some information.

BAG OF FRUIT. A suit. 5a.

BAG OF NAILS. Anything confusing. 6. (Given by an informant as rhyming argot, but the rhyme cannot be found.) Recorded in Australia, 1895; in Farmer's *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 1889.

BALL AND BAT. A hat. 2. 1918.

BAND IN THE BOX. Pox (syphilis). 5a. Mr. Baker's classification is open to question since pox is seldom used in this sense in colloquial American; rather 5b.

BANG AND BIFF. The siff (syphilis). 5a.

BASIN CROP. A haircut. (Given as rhyming argot, but the rhyme cannot be found; perhaps clipped back.) 3a.

BEES AND HONEY. Money. Probably 5b. *Pot o' honey* in Cockney slang.

BEN FLAKE. A steak. England, 1857.

BIG BLOKE. Coke (cocaine). 5a.

BILLY BUTTON. Mutton. 2. England, 1857.

BILLY MUGGINS. Mutton. 5a. In Australian slang, a fool. 4.

BLOCK AND TACKLE. A shackle (leg-iron or handcuff). 5a or possibly 5b.

BOAT AND OAR. A whore. 5a.

BOB'S MY PAL. A gal (girl). 3b.

BOILED RAG. A hag. 5a. In Australian, a stiff shirt. 4.

BONNET SO BLUE. A stew. 2. England, 1859.

BONNY FAIR. Hair. 5a.

BO PEEP or LITTLE BO PEEP. Sleep. 2.

BOTANY BAY. In the hay (in bed). 5a.

BOTTLE AND GLASS. The buttocks. 2.

BOTTLE AND STOPPER. A copper (policeman). 5b.

BOTTLE OF SPRUCE. A deuce (card). 2. In England, also twopence, by rhyme on deuce.

BOWL OF CHALK. Talk. 5a.

BOY IN BLUE. Stew. 5b.

BRACE AND BITS. Teats. 5a or 5b.

BRANDY SNAP. A slap. 5a. In Australia, obsolete for a mark caused by a blow.

BREAD AND JAM. A tram. 2.

BROKEN MUG. A hug. 5a.

BROKEN OAR. A whore. 5a.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS. Whiskers. 5a.

BROWN BESS. Yes. 2. England, 1859.

BROWN JOE. No. 2. England, 1859.

BUBBLE AND SQUEAK. To speak. 2.

BUGS AND FLEAS. The knees. 5a or 5b.

BULL AND COW. A row. 2. England, 1859.

BULL'S AUNTS. Pants. 5a. In Australia, *bullants.* 4.

BUSHY PARK. A lark (good time). 2. England, 1859.

BUTTER FLAP. A cap. 2. England, 1859; now obs.

BY THE PECK. The neck. 5b.

CABBAGE HAT. A rat (informer). 5b, with possible Australian antecedents. *Cabbage tree* and *cabbage hat* may be remotely linked with Australia. The *cabbage tree hat* seems to have had its origin in Australia at the end of the 18th century; however, Mr. Baker notes that *rat* (informer) was originally English, so that the development into rhyming argot is probably American.

CABBAGE TREE. To flee. 5a or 5b, with possible Australian antecedents.

CALICO YARD. A guard. 5a. In Australia, a type of corral. 4.

CAPTAIN COOK. A look. 1 or 3a.

CASTLE RAG. A flag. 2. England, 1859, now obs.

CAT CUFF. A bluff. 5a. In Australia, a blow in boxing. 4.

CATHERINE HAYES. Long days. 5a. In Australia, a mixed drink. 4.

CATS AND KITTIES. Titties (breasts). 5a or 5b.

CHAIR AND CROSS. A horse. 5a. Version of *Charing Cross.*

CHALK FARM. The arm. 2. England, 1857.

CHARING CROSS. A horse. 2. England, 1857.

CHARLEY BECK. A check (usually worthless). 5a.

CHARLEY CHALK. Talk. 5a.

CHARLEY HORNER. The corner. 5a.

CHARLEY PRESCOT. The vest (waistcoat). 7. England, 1857.

CHARLEY ROCKS. Socks. 5a. In Australia *almonds,* from *almond rocks* (Cockney); rare.

CHARLEY ROLLAR. A dollar. 5a.

CHEESE AND KISSES. The Mrs. (one's wife). 3b.

CHEESE AND SPICES. Prices (the morning line on racehorses). 5a.
CHERRY RIPE. A pipe. 2. England, 1857.
CHESAPEAKE SHAD. Not bad. 5a.
CHEVY CHASE. The face. 2. England, 1857. Now obs. in England.
CHEWS AND MOLASSES. Glasses (spectacles). 5a.
CHIP AND CHASE. The face. 5a.
CHOPPER. A copper (policeman). 5a.
CHUCK A CHARLEY. A dollar. (Bonafide rhyming argot?) 5a. Australian, to throw a fit. 4.
CHUNK OF BEEF. A chief (boss). 3a. In Australia, clipped to *chunka* or *chunker.*
CINDER SHIFTER. A drifter. 5a. In Australia, a speedway driver.
CLINK AND BLANK. A bank. 5a.
CLUB AND STICK. A dick (detective). 5a.
COAST ABOUT. A roustabout. 5a.
COBAR SHOWER. A flower. 5a. This term is used in Australia, never to mean a flower but a dust-storm, from the small town of Cobar in New South Wales; *Bedourie shower* and *Darling shower* are used similarly.
COCKED HAT. A rat (informer). 5a.
COCKIE'S CLIP. A dip (pickpocket). While this term is not used as rhyming argot in Australia, it unmistakably stems from there, where it means to shear a sheep. A *cockie* is a farmer, derived from *cockatoo;* it appears in such combinations as *cane cockie* (sugar grower), *cherry cockie, scrub cockie, cow cockie,* etc.
COLONIAL PUCK. Fornication. 5a.
COOKSHOP. A hockshop. (Bonafide rhyming argot?) 5a.
COW AND CALF. A laugh. 5a.
COWS AND KISSES. The Mrs. (one's wife). 2. England, 1857.
CRACK A BOO. To coo (make love). 5a. In Australia, to betray a secret or give way to one's feelings; rare. 4.
CRACK A CRY. To die. 5a.
CRACKERS AND TOAST. The post (racing). 5a.
CUP OF TEA. To see. 5a or 5b.
CUT AND SLICER. A dicer (hat). 5a.
DAISY ROOTS. Boots. 7. England, 1874.
DANNY TUCKER or DANNY RUCKER. Butter. 5a.
DERBY KELLEY. The belly. 5a.
DIME A POP. A cop. 5a.
DING DONG. A song. 7. England, 1859.
DINKY DIRT. A shirt. 5a. In England and Australia, *dicky dirt.* 4.
DIP SOUTH. The mouth. 5a or 5b. In Australia, *to dip South,* to search for money in one's pocket.
DUKE OF CORK. A talk; a walk. 2.
DUKE OF YORK. A talk; a walk. 2. England, 1859.
EAST AND SOUTH or NORTH AND SOUTH. The mouth. 5b. 1860.
EAST AND WEST. The vest. 5b.
FANNY BLAIR. The hair. 2. England, 1859.
FAR AND NEAR. Beer. 7.
FIDDLE AND FLUTE or FIDDLE. A suit of clothes. 5b.
FIELD OF WHEAT. A street. 2. 1900.
FIFTEEN AND SEVEN. Perfect (like heaven). 5a.
FIFTEEN AND TWO. A Jew. 5a.
FILET OF VEAL. A wheel. 5a.
FINE AND DANDY. Brandy. 7.
FINGER AND THUMB. Rum. 2. England, 1857.
FISH AND SHRIMP. A pimp. 5b.
FLEA AND LOUSE. A house (brothel). 2. England, 1859.
FLEAS AND ANTS. Pants. 5a or 5b.
FLOUNDER AND DAB. A taxicab or cab. 2. England, 1857.
FLY FLAT. A gat (gun). 5a. In England, a would-be sport; a wise-guy.
FORTY-FOUR. A whore. 5a.
FOWL ROOST. To boost (assist a pickpocket). 5a.
FRANCE AND SPAIN. Rain. 2. 1900.
FRANK AND HANK. A bank. 5a.
FRILLED GIZZARD. A lounge lizard. 5a.
FROG AND FEATHER. A leather (wallet). 5a.
FROG AND TOAD. A road. 7. England, 1859.
FROG A LOG. A dog. 5a or 5b.
FULL AS AN EGG. A slug in the head. (Bonafide rhyming argot?) 5a. In Australia, to be drunk. 4.
GARDEN GATE. A magistrate. 2. England, 1859.
GARLIC AND GLUE. Beef stew. 5a.

GAY AND FRISKY. Whisky. 7. 1900.
GERMAN BAND. The hand. 2. 1900.
GERMAN FLUTE. A boot. 2. England, 1857 (obs. in England).
GIGGLESTICK. A penis. 5a.
GINGER ALE. A jail. 5b.
GINGERBEERS. Tears. 5a or 5b.
GIRL AND BOY. A saveloy (sausage). 2. England, 1859.
GLORIOUS SINNER. Dinner. 2. England, 1859.
GOD FORBID. A kid (child). 2. 1900.
GOOSE AND DUCK. Fornication. 2. 1870.
GUNGAH DIN. The chin. 5b.
HAIR AND BRAIN. A chain. 5a.
HAIRY FLOAT. A coat. 5a.
HAIRY GOAT. The throat. 5a or 5b.
HALF A PECK. The neck. 5b.
HALF-AN-HOUR. Flour. 5a or 5b.
HALF-A-LICK. Sick. 5a.
HAMMER AND TACK. The back. 5a. In Australia, a road, by rhyme on *track*. 4.
HAPPY HOURS. Flowers. 5a.
HARD AND FLAT. A hat (derby). 5a.
HASH-ME-GANDY. Handy. 5a. In Australia, a type of stew. 4.
HAT AND CAP. The clap (gonorrhea). 5a.
HAWKSBURY RIVERS. The shivers. 1. In Australia, often cut back to *Hawksburies*.
HEAD AND TAIL. Jail. 5a.
HEAP OF COKE. A bloke (man). 2. 1910.
HEAVENLY BLISS. A kiss. 5b.
HERE AND THERE. A chair. 5b.
HICKORY DOCK. A clock. 5a or 5b.
HIGH STEPPER. Pepper. 2.
HIT AND MISS. Urine. 7.
HOLY GHOST. The post (racing). 5a.
HOOK A MUTTON. A button. 5a. In New Zealand, *to hook one's mutton* for to go away.
HOOT AND HOLLER. A dollar. 5a.
HOP TOAD. A road. 5a.
HOT HAY. The bay. 5a. Cf. *Botany Bay;* any possible connection?
HUSBAND AND WIFE. A knife. 5b.
I DECLARE. A chair. 5b.
I DESIRE. A fire. 2. 1900.
I DON'T CARE. A chair. 5b
IF AND AND. A band (music). 5b.
I'M AFLOAT. A boat. 2. England, 1859.
IN THE BOOK. A hook (thief). 5a.
IN THE SLEET. In the street. 5a or 5b.
IRISH KERBY. A derby (hat). 5a.
JACK AND JILL. A till. 2.
JACK DANDY. Brandy. 2. England, 1857.
JACK IN THE BOX. Socks. 2.
JACK RANDLE. A candle. 2. England, 1859. In England, *Jack Randall*.
JACK SCRATCH. A match. 5b.
JACK SHAY. To slay. 5a. In Australia, *Jackshea*, a tin quart-pot. 4.
JACK SPRAT. A brat (child). 2. In England, an undersized man or boy since the 16th century.
JERRYDIDDLE. A fiddle. 5a. In Australia, a drink on the house. 4.
JERRY McGINN. The chin. 5a.
JERSEY CITIES. Titties (breasts). 5a.
JEW CHUM. A bum (tramp). 5a. In Australia, an European Jewish refugee. 4.
JIG AND PRANCE. A dance. 5a or 5b.
JIMMY LOW. Go slow. 5a. In Australia, a folk-name for a type of tree. 4.
JOE BLAKE. A steak. 2. In Australia, a snake. 4.
JOE GOSS. The boss. 5a.
JOHNNY RAW. A saw; the jaw. 5a or 5b. In Australia, a *new chum* or immigrant.
JOHNNY RUMP. A pump. 5a.
JOHNNY RUSSELL. To bustle. 3c.
JOHNNY SKINNER. Dinner. 5a.
JOLLOPP. Stop. 5a.
KEITH AND PROCTOR. A doctor. 5a.
KELLEY NED. The head. 5a. (In Australia, *Ned Kelley* was a famous bush-ranger.)
KENNEDY ROT. A sot (drunkard). 5a. In Australia, a type of land scurvy named after a Queensland district.
KICK AND PRANCE. To dance. 5b.
KIDNEY PIE. The eye (not recorded in the plural). 5a or 5b. In Australia, insincere praise. 4.
KIDSTAKE. A fake. 5a. Plural, pretense, nonsense. 4.
KISS THE CROSS. The boss. 5a or 5b.
LAMB FRY. A necktie. 5a.
LAME DUCK. Fornication. 5a. In Australia, a scapegrace.

LARD AND PAIL. Jail. 5a.
LARRY HAPPY. Sappy (feebleminded). 5a. *Happy as Larry,* very happy. 4. 1900.
LARRY SIMON. A diamond. 5a.
LEAN AND LAKE. A steak. 5b.
LEAN AND LINGER. A finger. 5b.
LEAN AND LURCH. A church. 2. England, 1857.
LEG ROPE. Hope. 5a.
LOAF OF BREAD. The head. 7. 1900.
LORD LOVEL. A shovel. 2. England, 1857.
LUMP OF LEAD. The head. 7. England, 1857.
MACINTIRE AND HEATH. The teeth. 5a.
MAD MICK. A pick. 1. 1900.
MAD MILE. A smile. 5a.
MAGGIE MAHONE. A 'phone. 5a.
MAID'S ADORNING. Morning. 2. England, 1859.
MAIDSTONE JAILER. A tailor. 2. England, 1857.
MALLEE ROOT. A prostitute. 1. *Mallee* is an aboriginal word applied to a species of Eucalypt which covers a large area in Victoria known as 'The Mallee.'
MAN AND WIFE. A knife. 2. 1918.
MARY AND JOHNNIE. Marijuana (accidental rhyme in translation from Mexican Spanish?). 5a.
MINCE PIES. The eyes. 7. England, 1857.
MOAN AND WAIL. Jail. 5a.
MOTHER AND DAUGHTER. Water. 5b.
MUFFIN BAKER. A Quaker. 2. England, 1859.
MUMBLEY PEGS. The legs. 7.
NANCY PRANCE. A dance. 5a.
NEAR AND FAR. A bar. 2. 1910. A car. 5a or 5b.
NEAR AND THERE. A chair. 5a.
NEPTUNE'S DAUGHTER. Water. 5a.
NEW SOUTH. Big mouth. 5a. An abbreviation for New South Wales. 4.
NIAGARA FALLS. Balls; meat-balls; theater stalls. 2.
NICKLE AND DIME. Time. 5a.
NIGHT AND DAY. A play. 5b.
NITS AND LICES. Prices (racing). 5a.
NOAH'S ARK. A park. 2. *Nark* (a spoilsport). 4.
NORTH AND SOUTH. The mouth. 2. 1880.
NOSE AND CHIN. To win (a race). 2. 1860.
OCEAN WAVE. A shave. 2.
OH BY HECK. The neck. 5a.
OH MY DEAR. Beer. 7.
ONES AND TWOS. Shoes. 5b.
OSCAR HOCKS. Socks. 5a.
(To go) OVER THE STYLE. To stand trial. 5a.
PAIR OF BRACES. The races. 5b.
PAT MALONE. Alone. 1. (Rare.) Commonly clipped back to *on one's pat.*
PEACHES AND PEARS. The stairs. 5b.
PIG'S FACE. Lace. 5a.
PINT POT. A sot (drunkard). Possibly 5a, but adumbrated by Shakespeare's use of the term for a beer-seller.
PITCH THE PLOD. To plow the sod. 5a.
PLATES OF MEAT. Feet. 7. 1874.
PLOW THE DEEP. To sleep. 2. England, 1859.
PORT AND SHERRY. I'm jerry (wise). 5a.
POT AND PAN. A man. 7. 1870.
POT OF GLUE. A Jew. 5a or 5b.
POT OF JELLY. The belly. 5a.
POVERTY POINT. A joint. 5a. In Sydney, a meeting place for theatrical folk. 4.
PRIDE AND JOY. A boy. 2.
PUDDING AND PIE. The eye. 5b.
QUARTER POT. A sot (drunkard). 5a.
RATS AND MICE. Dice. 2. 1870.
RATTLE AND HISS. To urinate. 5a or 5b.
RAW AND RIPE. A pipe. 5b.
READ AND WRITE. To fight. 2. England, 1857.
READER AND WRITER. A fighter. 2.
RED HOT CINDER. A winder (window). 5a or 5b.
RED SHIRT. A skirt (woman). 5a.
RED STEER. A beer. 5a.
RIDE PLUSH. To hush. 5a.
RIPSEY ROUSERS. Trousers. 5a.
ROASTY ROAST. The post (racing). 5a.
ROARY O'MORE. The floor. 5a.
ROCKS AND BOULDERS. The shoulders. 2. 1900.
ROLLEY ROAR. The floor. 5a.
ROOTS. Boots. 7. 1874.
ROSES RED. A bed. 2.
ROUND THE HOUSES. Trousers. 7. England, 1859.

RUBBITY RUB. A tub. 5a. A 'pub,' usually clipped to *rubbity* or *rubby*. 4.
RUMBLE AND SHOCK. A knock. 5a.
RUMPTY DOLLAR. A holler (cry). 5a.
SANDY BLIGHT. Dead right; a type of ophthalmia. 4.
SATIN AND SILK. Milk. 5b.
SCARLET PIPS. The lips. 5a.
SCOTCH PEGS. Legs. 2. 1860.
SCREAM AND HOLLER. A dollar. 5a.
SEE THE SHINE. To give a dime. 5a.
SELDOM SEEN. A limousine. 5a.
SHERRY FLIPS. The lips. 5a.
SHIP IN SAIL. Ale. 2. England, 1857 (ship in full sail).
SHORT OF A SHEET. In the street. 5a. Stupid or mentally deficient. 4.
SHOVEL AND BROOM. A room. 5a or 5b.
SIGHS AND TEARS. The ears. 5a or 5b.
SILK AND TOP. A cop (policeman). 5a.
SILK AND TWINE. Wine. 5a.
SIMPLE SIMON. A diamond. 5a.
SIR WALTER SCOTT. A (chamber) pot. 5b. A pot of beer. 2. England, 1857.
SKY ROCKETS. The pockets. 2. 1879.
SKY THE WIPE. A hype (hypodermic). 5a.
SLICK AND SLEATH. The teeth. 5a.
SLIM DILLY. A filly. 5a. A girl. 4.
SLOOP OF WAR. A whore. 2. England, 1859.
SLUM OF SLOPS. Hops (tea). 5b. (In England *slops,* tea; *slum,* a chest, since c. 1860.)
SMACK IN THE EYE. Pie. 5a.
SMART AND SIMPLE. A dimple. 5a or 5b.
SMEAR AND SMUDGE. A judge. 5a or 5b.
SMOOTH AND COARSE. A horse. 5a.
SMOOTH AND ROUGH. On the cuff (credit). 5a.
SNOW AND RAIN. A train. 5a.
SONG AND DANCE. Pants. 5a.
SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR. An elevator. 5a.
SPANISH GUITAR. A cigar. 5a.
SPINNING TOP. A cop (policeman). 5a.
STAND AN ALE. Bail. 5a.
STICK SLINGERS. Fingers. 5a.
STORM AND STRIFE. One's wife. 7.
STORMY DICK. A penis. 5a.
STRING AND TWINE. Wine. 5a or 5b.
STRONG AND THIN. Gin. 5b.
SWEET MARGUERITE. A cigarette. 5a. (Bonafide rhyming argot?)
SWITCH AND BONE. A phone. 5a.
SYDNEY HARBOR. A barber. 1.
TAR AND FEATHER. The weather. 5a or 5b.
TARRY ROPE. A dope (fool). 5a. A waterfront prostitute. 4.
TEA AND TATTLE. A battle. 5b.
TEA AND TOAST. The post (racing). 5a.
TEARS AND CHEERS. The ears. 5a.
THIS AND THAT. A hat. 7.
THESE AND THOSE. The toes. 5b.
THREE OR FOUR. A door. 5a or 5b.
TICK-TACK. The track (racing). 5a or 5b. *Tic-tac,* signals to a bookmaker. 4.
TIDDLEDY WINK. A drink. 2.
TING-A-LING. A ring (finger). 5a.
TIP AND TAP. A cap. 5a.
TIT FOR TAT. A hat. 7.
TOAD IN A HOLE. A roll (money). 5a.
TOM TART. A fart. 5a. A girl. 4.
TOMMY DODD. A rod (gun). 5a.
TOMMY ROCKS. Socks. 5a.
TOM TUG. A mug (sucker). 5a.
TOTAL WRECK. A check. 7.
TRAP AND MOUSE. A house. 5a or 5b.
TOY. A boy. 5a.
TROT AND PACE. The face. 5a.
TURTLE DOVES. Gloves. 2. England, 1857.
TWIST AND TWIRL. A girl. 7.
TWO BY FOUR. A whore. 5a.
UNCLES AND AUNTS. Pants. 5a.
UPPER DECK. The neck. 5a or 5b.
UPPERS AND BENEATH. The teeth. 5a.
VERY BEST. The chest. 5a.
WEEPING WILLOW. A pillow. 2. 1900.
WHALE AND GALE. A jail. 5a.
WHAT AM. A ham. 5a.
WHIP AND SLASH or LASH. Mustache. 5a.
THE WINDS DO WHIRL. A girl. 5a.
WISH ME LUCK. To duck. 5b.
YOU KNOW. Snow (cocaine). 5a.

CHARLES SEALSFIELD'S AMERICANISMS (III)

JOHN T. KRUMPELMANN
Louisiana State University

SINCE THE publication of my original contribution on 'Charles Sealsfield's Americanisms' (*American Speech,* February, 1941), I have been able to examine the earliest forms of his first work of fiction in the following rare printings: (A.), *Tokeah or The White Rose,* in two volumes, Philadelphia, 1829, copyrighted the 14th day of January, 1829; (B.), *The Indian Chief or Tokeah and the White Rose,* in three volumes, Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, and Carey; London, A. K. Newman and Co., no date (June, 1829) and (C.), *Der Legitime und die Republikaner,* in three volumes, Zürich, Orell, Füszli und Compagnie, 1833.

These examinations have yielded the following additional data which will serve to introduce some new material, to verify and extend the former list by introducing earlier citations of certain words, and to rectify certain conjectures, which, in the light of extended horizon, are no longer tenable. I also wish to correct two *lapsus styli.* The works mentioned above are cited in the following list as (A.), (B.), and (C.); my former text, edition 1845, as (D.).

Block up (v.), to raise, erect. A., Vol. 1, p. 103: 'The men who raised, or, to speak the languages of the country, "blocked up the cabin." ' (B., Vol. 1, p. 183.) Not in DAE.

Brown (n.), a garment made of a kind of cloth which was so called. A., Vol. 1, p. 8: 'In her homespun brown, which served both daily and nightly.' (B., Vol. 1, p. 7.) DAE has: '*Brown, (*n.*) 1. A piece or kind of brown holland cloth. . . . (1) 1817 *Cape-Fear Recorder* 5 April, A handsome assortment of Linens, . . . Ticklenburgs, Osnaburgs, Browns and Burlaps.' In C., Vol. 1, p. 6, and D., Vol. 1, p. 15, S. renders 'brown' differently: 'Ihr Ueberrock von Linsey-Woolsey, für täglichen und nächtlichen Gebrauch bestimmt.'

Caper (n.), a privateer. C., Vol. 2, p. 8; same as in D.

Cut (up) (v.). A., Vol. 2, p. 9: 'From the hard drinking, dancing, fighting, romping, and "cutting up high" that reigned throughout the assembly, one might have imagined that there was a general frolic.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 117.) Cf. DAE under *cut* (v.) 24 + d; first citation 1847.

Entertainment (n.), place where alcoholic liquors are retailed. A., Vol. 2, p. 148: 'The dwellings were chiefly tenanted by retailing tradesmen, who kept grog and wine shops, called, in the language of the country,

entertainments.' (B., Vol. 3, p. 128f.) Not in DAE. The name must have been transferred from the function which the place served to the establishment itself because of the striking prominence of the word on the sign board. See A., Vol. 1, p. 5 and Vol. 2, p. 10. (C., Vol. 2, p. 115 and D., Vol. 2, p. 140.)

Fips and levies (n.), names of coins. A., Vol. 2, p. 22: ' "But them fips and levies," throwing a dirty leather bag, with a dozen small silver coins on the table, "must first go." ' (B., Vol. 2, p. 140.) This occurrence of 'levies' is nine months earlier than the passages cited in my original article. See DAE under 'levy.'

Frencher (n.). DAE: '+A Frenchman. *colloq.*'; citations are 1826 Cooper, *Mohicans;* 1829, *Wish-ton-Wish;* 1840, *Pathfinder;* 1845, *Jonathan Sharp.* A., Vol. 1, p. 21: 'The child's a Frencher or a Spaniard.' (Also B., Vol. 1, p. 32.) C., Vol. 1, p. 34: 'Das Kind ist eine Französin oder Spanierin.' (See also A., Vol. 2, pp. 26, 38.) These passages indicate the early use of the word elsewhere than in Cooper.

Genuine (real) *Havannas* (n.). C., Vol. 3, p. 157; same as D., Vol. 3, p. 188.

Hanger (n.). DAE has: '*A kind of short sword or cutlass *obs.*' and citations of 1686, 1737, 1792, 1840. The occurrence of the word in our texts seems to fill a gap left by DAE between 1792 and 1840. A., Vol. 1, p. 161: 'A long scalping-knife, that might have been taken for a hanger.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 23.) See also A., Vol. 1, p. 149; B., Vol. 2, p. 2.

Hopsesa (n.), a kind of rustic dance. A., Vol. 2, p. 10: 'The favorite dance of the backwoodsmen, the hopsesa, was here performed to the music afforded by a wretched fiddle'; *ibid.,* p. 146: 'Ay, and perhaps a dance too, a hopsesa.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 118 and p. 127.) S. retains this word in the German forms of the story. See C., Vol. 2, p. 115, 'Hopsesa'; Vol. 3, p. 206, 'Hopsesa'; D., Vol. 2, p. 140, 'Hopsasa'; Vol. 3, p. 245, 'Hopsesa.' The word is not found in DAE, but it may be the origin of our expression 'hop,' an informal dance.

Jam-party (n.). C., Vol. 2, p. 204; same as in D.

Kingsheads (n.). A., Vol. 1, p. 26: 'spotted and black rattlesnakes, kingsheads and copperheads.' (B., Vol. 1, p. 43.) Also C., Vol. 1, p. 44; D., Vol. 1, p. 60, 'Kingsheads' not 'Kingheads.' (*Cf. American Speech,* February, 1941, p. 29.)

Monongahela (n.), whiskey. A., Vol. 2, p. 13: 'half a pint of "genuine Monongehala" '; *ibid.,* p. 36, 'a bottle of old Monongahela.' (B., Vol. 2, pp. 123, 164.) Thus we have two occurrences of the word which are al-

most ten months earlier than the earliest citation recorded in my original article.

Mouth-piece (n.), spokesman. A., Vol. 1, p. 149: 'When his mouth-piece had delivered his [Lafitte's] commands, a nod of the captain called the lieutenant to his side.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 3.) Thus does S. anticipate the gangster's language of today in reporting the actions of his pirates of over a century ago.

Ninetails (n.). C., Vol. 1, p. 124f.; same as D., Vol. 1, p. 156.

Palma christi (n.). A., Vol. 1, p. 27: 'The pendant myrtle and the lovely palma-christi.' See also pp. 33, 38. (B., Vol. 1, pp. 43, 57.) DAE has under '*Palma Christi' a citation 1737, Brickell *N. Carolina* 21; 1831 Peck *Guide* 158, 'The *Palma christi,* or castor bean,' but under *Castor bean,* citation dated 1829, and under *Castor oil,* citation 1823, showing earlier occurrences of *Palma christi.* It would seem that Sealsfield was the first to use the expression in fiction.

Paquis (n.), a very bad man, an executioner, an apache (?). A., Vol. 1, p. 204: 'They would send for a Paquis, that he may hang the thieves on trees.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 95.) C., Vol. 2, p. 89: 'Sie würden nun (*sic!*) einen der schlechtesten Appachees senden, daß er die Diebe an Bäume hänge.' D., Vol. 2, p. 109: 'Sie würden um einen der schlechtesten Apachees senden, daß er die Diebe an Bäume hänge.' A., Vol. 1, p. 207: 'They call the Paquis, that they may hang them on a tree by the neck.' (In B., Vol. 2, p. 99, identical, except 'paquis' for 'Paquis.') C., Vol. 2, p. 92: 'Sie rufen den Schlechtesten der Apachees, daß er die Diebe beym Genick an einen Baum hänge.' (D., Vol. 2, p. 113, identical except 'beim' for 'beym.') A., Vol. 1, p. 210: 'Let them be carried to the paquis of the white men, that they may hang them on their trees.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 105.) C., Vol. 2, p. 96: 'Mögen sie den Schlechtesten der Weißen übergeben werden, auf daß sie dieselben an Bäume hängen.' (D., Vol. 2, p. 119.) Since *paquis* has not been found elsewhere, one is tempted to conjecture that the first occurrence above, 'a Paquis,' may be some sort of a contamination for 'Apachees.' Note the capital letter (A.), the varied spelling of 'Ap(p)achees' (C.), and the misprint 'nun' for 'um' (C), indicating a lack of clear comprehension of the expression on the part of the first German typesetter. Cf. NED (Supplement) under *Apache,* 'A member of a band of robbers and assassins in and around Paris and other European cities; also *gen.* a man of ruffianly character.' (All citations date from 20th century.)

Pernambuco logs (n.), logwood, dye wood from Pernambuco. A., Vol. 2, p. 124: 'The carriage whirled along the levee, through oyster and

orange shops; mountains of Pernambuco logs and bricks; bales of cotton, and sugar and tobacco hogsheads.' (B., Vol. 3, p. 85.) Although I have not found this expression elsewhere in English, it is current in German. Cf. *Der Große Brockhaus* under *Rotholz,* 'Brazilienholz, Pernambuco = Fernambukholz.'

Redingote (n.). NED has '[a. F. *redingote* (1725), corruption of Eng. *riding-coat.*] a. (In France.) A double-breasted outer coat for men, with long plain skirts not cut away in the front.' First citation in NED is 1835. C., Vol. 3, p. 46: 'Eine rehfarbige etwas grobtuchene Redingotte.' (D., Vol. 3, p. 58: 'Redingote.') Also D., Vol. 9, p. 32: 'Redingote.' (Although the above may be a French word in a German text, it may also be a Louisiana word current in the section where the scene of the story is set.)

Silver (v.), to cross the palm with silver, to bribe. A., Vol. 2, p. 39f.: 'Soldiers and officers of the Douane, as they were called: they came up with their hands open, like so many beggars. We couldn't sell a pig without silvering them.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 169f.)

Stump orator (n.), stump speaker. A., Vol. 2, p. 19: 'The stump orator, with the two captors, entered.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 135.) Thornton has citation, 1841. See also *American Speech,* April, 1941, p. 106, *Stump Speech.*

Tennessee (n.), a product of the state of Tennessee (?), whiskey or tobacco (?). A., Vol. 2, p. 74: 'For the last Tennessee which he ordered, I had to pay just twice as much as for that which I brought from the city.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 228f.)

Wattap (n.). C., Vol. 1, p. 91 and p. 93 identical with D. In both places, A., Vol. 1, p. 54, and B., Vol. 1, p. 95 and p. 97, the word is printed 'wallap,' evidently an error of the author, or, more probably, a typographical error.

Woolly head (n.), a negro. A., Vol. 2, p. 53: 'Captain Copeland could raise as fine a company of wool-heads, as the best on the ground.' (B., Vol. 2, p. 193.) C., Vol. 3, p. 3 and D., Vol. 3, p. 8: 'Wollköpfe.' Hence my conjecture that S. was translating *woolly-head* by *Wollkopf* was wrong.

THE NEW ELEMENT IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

M. M. MATHEWS
University of Chicago

FOR MANY years I have been impressed with the desirability of a much more searching investigation than has so far been made into the sources of that element in American English that originated in this country. This investigation should concern itself not only with words but also with meanings of words when, as is often the case, these meanings have originated here under circumstances that invite linguistic investigation.

Of course there are many distinctively American terms, often of an ephemeral nature, the sources of which are so obvious as to be of little linguistic interest. Such expressions as *abolitioner, abolitionize, Abolition party,* and *Abolition society* illustrate this type of expression.

The investigations I have so far been able to carry out lead me to the conclusion that even our latest dictionaries and other works of reference contain more than a little linguistic matter that can in no wise be depended upon. Of course I am not overlooking the ever-present possibility that in work of this kind I inevitably run the risk of perpetrating errors far more consequential than those I seek to correct. The object of this and any subsequent articles, therefore, will be quite as much to elicit as to provide information.

The names and abbreviations used in this paper are:

Appleton,	*Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1888-.
Bentley,	Harold W. Bentley, *A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English,* 1932.
DAB,	*Dictionary of American Biography,* 1928-1937.
DAE,	*A Dictionary of American English,* by Sir William A. Craigie and Professor James R. Hulbert, 1936-1944.
Hodge,	Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians,* 1907-1910.
Malaret,	Augusto Malaret, *Diccionario de Americanismos,* 1931.
OED,	*Oxford English Dictionary.*
PMLA,	*Publications of the Modern Language Association.*
Sup.,	*The Supplement* (1933) to the *Oxford English Dictionary.*
Web.,	*The New International,* 2nd ed. 1934.
Weekley,	Ernest Weekley, *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English,* 1921.

A. The new element in American English begins with the first letter of the alphabet. The most significant and widespread additional use made

here of *A* is as a grade mark. The earliest instance so far brought to light of this use has been found at Augustana College, Rockford, Ill. In response to a letter of inquiry the President of Augustana wrote me as follows:

I find in the faculty minutes for June, 1877, the first reference to the marking system adopted by the faculty for the members of the graduating class. The letters used then and for the next dozen or more years were A, a, AB, ab, B. As closely as I can figure it out the values of these letters were:

A	90-100
a	85-90
AB	80-85
ab	70-80
B	60-70

My father was a student during the years '85-'93, and I find on his report cards for '89 both the letters and the numerals used on the basis stated here.

Augustana was founded by graduates of the Swedish universities of Upsala and Lund, and my guess is that the marking system may be traced back to the Swedish. At least there is some relationship, because my father's elementary school record from 1871 in Sweden employed letters.

So far as the use of letters as grade marks at Augustana is concerned, the influence of the earlier practice in Sweden is clear, but there is no reason for thinking that from Augustana as a center this use of the letters of the alphabet spread to its present extent. It may well have been initiated independently at many other places, and further research may show this system of grading occurring earlier in American education than 1877.

The practice at Harvard dates from the session of 1884-1885. In the records of the freshman class that year the grades are given in both percentages and letters. At Yale the letter system of grading is said to have been adopted by the General Faculty of the Sheffield Scientific School on April 16, 1917. The first mention of this system of grading at Transylvania College is found in the faculty minutes of April 19, 1913. I do not have any data from other schools, though much more is of course quite desirable.

ABALONE. This term for any gastropod mollusk of the genus *Haliotis* is said by Web. to be of obscure origin. In the OED Sup. it is explained as being Spanish of unknown origin. In the DAE *abalone* is said to be 'Mexican-Sp.' and a reference is made to the entry *Avalone;* but under this entry no etymological information is given. The term is not in Bentley, Weekley or Malaret. One of the quotations in the DAE s.v. *Abalone* is: '1883 Goode *Fishery Industr. U.S.* (1887) II. 622 In California these mollusks are all known as "abalone," which is said to be a corruption

of Spanish *aulon* or *aulone.*' I have so far been unable to find any such Spanish terms as those just mentioned. Nor am I able to see why in modern Spanish a word such as *aulon* or *aulone,* even if such a term could be found, might give rise to such a form as 'abalone.' More light on the expression is much to be desired.

ABERGINIAN, ABERGINNY. These two terms, for reasons that will appear, should be discussed together. The first, *Aberginian,* appears in only one dictionary, i.e. in the DAE, where it is shown to have been used in colonial times for an Indian of the Massachusetts Bay area or of the region to the north of this, usually in the plural as a tribal designation. Hodge suggests that the word is a corruption of *Abnaki,* an Indian tribal name, or that it is possibly a misspelling of *aborigines.* The DAE says: 'App. a native name and not an early formation from L. *aborigines.*' *Aberginny,* recorded in the DAE but in no other modern dictionary, was used in the same sense as *Aberginian,* but occurs, so far as the DAE examples show, in the attributive or adjectival position. Both terms are of course now entirely obsolete. In the first edition, 1623, of Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie,* in the third part, under the heading 'People of sundry qualities,' the following occurs: '*Aborigeni,* People whose beginning are unknown.' This entry was radically changed in the second, 1626, edition of Cockeram, appearing there as: '*Abergeni,* people whose beginning is not knowne.' By 1670 what purported to be the 12th edition of Cockeram's dictionary appeared. In the editions of 1626, 1631, 1642, 1650, and 1658, the entry *Abergeni* remained unchanged, and it presumably remained unchanged in all editions of the dictionary after 1626. The term *Aberginny* occurring in the Massachusetts Bay area from 1628 to 1654, as shown by the examples in the DAE, is to all appearances the same as Cockeram's *Abergeni;* consequently it is an error to regard it as a word that originated in this country. The latinity of *Abergeni* is suggested by its form, so it is not surprising that in Ps. Victor, *Liber de Origine Gentis Romanae* (prob. 5th-6th c.), ch. iv, there occurs a term that appears to be related to Cockeram's *Abergeni:* 'Alii volunt eos, quod errantes illo venerint, primo Aberrigines, post mutata una littera, altera adempta Aborigines cognominatos.'

From what has been said above it is easy to dispose of *Aberginian.* It is merely a derivative of obvious formation from *Aberginny,* or *Abergeni,* and apparently originated in this country. The suggestions about its origin found in Hodge and in DAE may safely be disregarded.

ABERT. The DAE records the use of this proper noun in the possessive case in the names of birds. The man in whose honor *Abert's finch, pipilo,*

and *towhee* were named was Lieutenant J. W. Abert (1820-1897) whose writings on the Southwest possess considerable interest and importance. Some information about him is given in Appleton, but not in DAB. Further information is found in LeRoy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men . . .*, Denver, 1931.

ABISSELFA. The only evidence so far brought to light for this word is American. The DAE gives two examples, 1835 and 1848, of the use of the term. The 'cumulative' system of spelling, however, which gave rise to *abisselfa* as a contraction for 'a by itself a' was not peculiar to this country. A. W. Read in his excellent paper 'The Spelling Bee; A Linguistic Institution of the American Folk,' in PMLA, 56:495-512 (June, 1941), cites on pp. 498-499 a British pedagogical work of 1576 in which directions for spelling in the 'cumulative' manner are given. In these rules it is shown that *i* when standing by itself as a syllable, as in *imagine* is to be called 'i, by it self.' No example is given of *a* when thus used as a syllable by itself, but it must have been likewise called 'a by itself.' The filling of this out into 'a by itself a,' and the shortening of this into 'abisselfa' may have taken place in England, but there is no record that it did so.

In this connection it is interesting that in John Regan's *Emigrant's Guide* (1852), p. 241, the following passage occurs: 'They [near Peoria, Illinois] were all much amused at my way of spelling the words straight forward without dividing them into syllables, which latter is the universal practice there, and much better than our method.' This indicates that the 'cumulative' method of spelling passed out of English use before it did in this country.

ABLUVION. The OED does not record this word. The DAE gives it with only one example, dated *a*1817, in which it is used in the sense of 'the action or process of washing away.' Web. records it as meaning 'that which is washed off,' and adds that the term is rare. Both Web. and DAE derive the word from *abluvio,* which the 1909 Webster calls low Latin, and which the new Webster and the DAE call medieval Latin. Why *abluvio* should be regarded as either low or medieval Latin is not clear. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* lists it with no hint of its being either low or medieval. The point is of course a minor one, since the word is apparently not now in use, and never had an extensive vogue.

NOTES ON INDIANA SPEECH

V. E. GIBBENS
Purdue University

IN MAKING a recent survey of *Dialect Notes*[1] and *American Speech,* for the purpose of securing a background for a projected study of the language of Indiana, I found that I could make some contribution to the material that had been discussed in the two publications. A few of my notes follow.

ANY MORE[2]

Indiana may be added to the list of states[3] in which the expression *any more* meaning 'nowadays' is heard frequently in affirmative, as well as negative, statements. It is common in Clay County,[4] my home until I left for college; and I am told by both students and colleagues at Purdue University that it is often used in Tippecanoe County.[5] A student from Scott County[6] has heard it and thinks it is common there. Jeannette Covert Nolan, writer of a thrice-weekly column in the Indianapolis *Star,* recently wrote that she had heard the expression in Marion, Morgan, and Monroe counties.[7] She considered it a central Indiana expression since she had never heard it in Vanderburgh County, an Ohio River county, in which she was born and reared.

When I asked my colleague Professor Paul Fatout, a native Hoosier, whether he was familiar with *any more* in the affirmative, he replied that he was and immediately offered the following example as typical of the uses he had heard: 'Any more I'm sleepy all the time.' Three of the most recent examples that I have heard—respectively in Tippecanoe, Clay, and Marion counties—are: (1) said of a brand of cigarettes, 'They aren't much good, they are so loosely packed any more,' (2) 'They [the government] want any kind of scrap iron any more,' and (3) 'Garage mechanics are very hard to get any more.'

---

1. Except for the third volume of Thornton's *Glossary,* which had been bound separately and was not available.

2. See V. E. Gibbens, 'Affirmative and Negative Use of "Any More,"' Indianapolis *Star,* Sept. 23, 1943, p. 8.

3. See *American Speech,* 6: 460; 7: 223-224, 235-236; 11: 63; 14: 304; 16: 18-19; 18: 141, 152-153.

4. In the northwestern section of the south half of the state.

5. In the southwestern section of the north half of the state; about 60 or 70 miles north of Clay County.

6. In southeastern Indiana.

7. Central and south-central counties.

LIZARD

To anyone who has used a lizard, the definition of it in *American Speech,* VI, 465, as a 'vehicle with runners' must have seemed at least mildly amusing. A lizard (spelled with one *z* and not two as in the note in *American Speech*) as I know it[8] is a type of sled—or sledge—on which the 'vehicle' and the runners are of a piece; that is, the vehicle is the runners. It is a rude contrivance—in fact, nothing more nor less than the fork of a small tree plus a short length of trunk. A crosspiece, called a bolster, is often affixed over and across the arms of the fork. The lizard is used principally to slide, or drag, logs through the forest to the sawmill, usually over mud or snow. One end of a log is rolled, by means of a cant hook, upon the bolster, to which it is securely chained. The other end of the log is allowed to slide on the ground. The motive force—team, tractor, etc.—is hitched to the trunk end of the lizard, hewn to resemble the runner of a sled.

The lizard has been recorded as known to the pioneers of southern Illinois.[9] The word has almost, if not completely, dropped out of use in Clay County, Indiana, as the object it names has become extremely rare or non-existent. I have not seen a lizard since about 1924.

GOOSE-DROWNDER

The word *goose-drownder,* meaning 'a heavy rain, a cloudburst,' has been reported from the Tennessee mountains and from the Ozarks,[10] but not, so far as I have been able to discover, from Indiana. It is common in Clay County, however, and one instance of its use in Tippecanoe County has been reported by a colleague who heard it in the speech of a Victory garden 'neighbor.' A native of Tippecanoe County who has lived within a few miles of his birthplace for the fifty-odd years of his life is not familiar with the term; nor is the student from Scott County mentioned above. Of the numerous people I have asked at Purdue and at the University of Michigan, all have declared their ignorance of the expression. It is not listed by Paul G. Brewster in 'Folk "Sayings" from Indiana' or in 'More Indiana Sayings';[11] he does give, however, a similar term in *toad strangler.*

---

8. Cf. the definitions in *DAE* and *Webster.*

9. William O. Rice, 'The Pioneer Dialect of Southern Illinois,' *Dialect Notes,* vol. 2, pt. 4, p. 238 (1902).

10. T. J. Farr, 'The Language of the Tennessee Mountain Regions,' *American Speech,* 14: 90 (April, 1939), and Vance Randolph, 'A Third Ozark Word-List,' *American Speech,* 5: 18 (October, 1929).

11. The first article named appeared in *American Speech,* 14: 261-268 (December, 1939), the second in *American Speech,* 16: 21-25 (February, 1941). *Toad strangler* and a more literal expression—*gully washer*—appear in the first article, p. 263.

HAY-DOODLE

This term is foreign to the lists of Indiana dialect words that I have seen. It has been given in a list of words from Pennsylvania,[12] and an accompanying editor's comment adds that it has also been reported from a German settlement in the Western Reserve and from Nebraska. The word, familiar to me from boyhood, is a substitute, undoubtedly a euphemism, for *haycock*. Darrel Abel, a colleague, has a most ingenious (and likely) explanation of its etymology: he suggests that the *doodle* part of the compound may have come from the association of *cock* and *doodle* in the expression 'Cock-a-doodle-do.'

My barber—who is also a farmer—recently heard a neighbor say that he had been *'doodlin'* beans [soy beans].'

BREWSTER'S INDIANA SAYINGS

Most of the expressions listed by Brewster in his two articles I have heard in Clay County. I have, of course, heard others; my present purpose, however, is not to add new expressions but to offer variations of certain terms given in his collections. These variations, as well as some of the forms listed by Brewster, are used in Clay County.

Brewster's Version	*Variation*
awkward as a cow (on skates)	awkward as a cow on crutches
breeding a scab	breeding a scab on one's nose
couldn't hit a bull in the a— with a banjo	couldn't hit a bull in the a— with a bass drum
hard as a dornick[13]	hard as a darnick [dɑrnɪk]
in two shakes of a dead lamb's tail	in two shakes of a puppy-dog's tail
sure as God made little apples	sure as God made little green apples
talking to hear one's brains rattle	talking to hear one's head roar
tight as the bark on a tree	tight as the bark on a beech (tree)
ugly as sin	ugly as home-made sin[14]
we killed a bear	*we* killed a bear—but *Johnny* shot it *we* killed a bear—*Pa* did
whole kit 'n caboodle whole passel	whole kit 'n bustle

12. *Dialect Notes*, 4: 337. The example given is: 'A storm was coming; so we put the hay in *doodles* as fast as we could.' The word is known to Professor Marckwardt and his field workers on the Linguistic Atlas, who found it in both southern Indiana and southern Illinois.

13. Judging from the spelling, meant to be pronounced [dornɪk] or [dɔrnɪk]. In this meaning, the word has been reported as *donnick*, by O. W. Hanley, 'Dialect Words from Southern Indiana,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 117 (1906), and as *donnock*, by E. H. Babbitt, 'The Dialect of Western Connecticut,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 1, pt. 7, p. 341.

14. A subtle commentary on the repute in which anything home-made is held.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

The American Forum of the Air, July 18, 1944. Topic: The Campaign Issues. Speakers: Mr. Theodore Granik, Chairman of the Forum, Attorney and Editor; Mr. Ernest K. Lindley, Chief of the Washington Bureau of Newsweek Magazine, Syndicated Columnist and Blue Network Commentator; Mr. Walter Trohan, White House Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune; Mr. Ray Tucker, Syndicated Columnist of the McClure Syndicate; Mr. Leo Cherne, Executive Secretary, the Research Institute of America, and Mutual Network Analyst; Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr., Mutual Network's Washington Reporter; Mr. Leon Henderson, Former Chief of the OPA, now a Blue Network Commentator.

Mr. Granik: . . . ɪn 'jɔɚ ə'pɪnjən 'dʒɛntlmən| də 'ju 'θɪŋk ðə kæ̃ᵐ'pẽĩn| æn ði ə'lɛkʃn wɪl hæv 'ɛnɪ ɪ'fɛkt ɔn ðɚ 'wɔɚ ɪt'sɛlf ɔɚ ə'mɛɚəkəz rɪ'leɪʃnʃɪp wəð ðɪ ju'naɪrəd 'neɪʃnz 'ɝnəst də jə wɔn tə 'goʊ ə'lɪɾl 'fɝðɚ ɔn 'ðæt||

Mr. Lindley: ʔaɪ 'doʊnᵗ 'θɪŋk 'ɛnɪbɑdɪ kən 'æ̃nsɚ 'ðæt wɪθ kəm'plit 'kã̃fədəns| bəɾ aɪ kn si 'wʌn rɪ'spɛkt| ɪn ʍɪtʃ ɪt ''maɪt 'hæv ən ə'fɛkt ɔn ðə 'wɔɚ| ɔn ðə saɪ'kɑlədʒɪ| əv ðɪ 'ɛnəmɪ| ʔæ̃nd əv 'ɑɚ ə'laɪz| kɔz aɪ hæv 'noʊ 'daʊt| 'ðæt| ə rɪ'pʌbləkən 'vɪktrɪ| wəd ''tɛnd| tu 'hɑɚtn| ðə 'pipl hum wɪɚ 'faɪtɪŋ|| aɪ 'doʊnᵗ 'seɪ ðət 'ðæt wəd bi ə 'dʒʌstəˌfaɪəbl| ri'ækʃn ɔn 'ðɛɚ 'pɑɚt| bɪ'kɔz aɪ hæv 'noʊ 'daʊt| ðət| ðɪ rɪ'pʌbləkən mɪnəs'tɾeɪʃn wəl 'prɑsəkjut ðə 'wɔɚ 'tu| ə sək'sɛsfl kən'kluʒn ɪf ət 'kʌmz 'ɪn|| ''bʌt| wi 'oʊnlɪ hæv tə rɪ'kɔl 'nãĩn'tin 'fɔɚɾɪ| ʍɛn ɪt wəz 'kwaɪt 'ɛvədənt| ðæt| ðə 'dʒɝmənz prə'fɝd 'wɪlkɪ| 'sɪmplɪ bə'kɒz| ðeɪ 'nu 'ʍʌt| 'roʊsəvɛlt 'wʌz| ən ðeɪ 'θɔt 'ɛnɪbɑdɪ 'ɛls| 'maɪt bi ə 'lɪɾl bɪt 'bɛɾɚ frəm 'ðɛɚ 'vju ˌpɔɪnt||

Mr. Trohan: 'aɪ dɪsə'gri 'vaɪələntlɪ wɪð 'ðæt| bɪkəz| 'ðæts ə 'weɪ| əv| 'steɪɾɪŋ| ðət ə 'voʊt fɝ—ə'gɛnst 'roʊzvɛlt ɪz ə 'voʊt fɝ 'hɪtlɚ| ɝ ə 'voʊt fɝ 'toʊʒoʊ| ɝ ə 'voʊt fɝ 'mjusoʊ| ən 'hi 'nidz əm 'tu| kʌm tə 'θɪŋk əv ɪt||

Mr. Tucker: ænd 'ðɛɚz 'noʊ 'pæɚəlɛl 'ɝnəst—

Mr. Granik: lɛt 'ɝnəst 'ænsɚ 'ðæt 'reɪ||

Mr. Lindley: aɪ 'sɛd| 'ðæts ðə 'wʌn ri'spɛkt ɪn ʍɪtʃ aɪ 'θĩŋk ɪt 'maɪt ə'fɛkt ət| æ̃n ɪt| ɪn'vɒlvz ən ə'næ̃ləsəs əv 'ɛ̃nəmɪ saɪ'kalədʒɪ| ðæt aɪ 'doʊnʔ bə'liv 'ɛnɪbɑdɪ kn 'meɪk wɪθ kəm'plit 'kã̃ⁿfədəns||

Mr. Trohan: aɪ 'wɑ̃n 'nʌθɪŋ tə 'd̪u| wɪθ dðə 'ɛnəmɪ| ɝ ɪts saɪ'kɑlədʒɪ||

Mr. Tucker: 'wɛl 'ðɛɚ ɪz 'noʊ 'pæɚəlɛl ɪn 'naɪn'tin 'fɔɚɾɪ 'ʔɝnəst| bɪkɔz 'wɪlkɪ kæ̃pẽĩⁿd| ɑ̃n ðə 'grãũ̃nd ðət hi wəd 'kip əs 'aʊɾə 'wɔɚ| æn ðɛn 'leɪɾɚ| 'sɛd ðæt wəz 'oʊnɪ kæ̃ᵐ'pẽĩn 'ɔɚətɔɚɪ|| 'ðæt dʌznt ɪg'zɪstᵗ 'ðɪs 'taɪm bɪkəz 'boʊθ 'pɑɚɾɪz aɪ 'θɪŋk ə fɝ ðə prɑsə'kjuʃn ə ðə 'wɔɚ||

Mr. Lindley: 'wɛl hi 'gɑt ðə ˌnɑmə'neɪʃn ɪn ðə 'fɝst 'pleɪs aɪ 'θĩŋk

---

* The transcription was made from a phonograph recording of the broadcast.

juəl əˌgri bɪˈkaz hi wəz ˈmɔɚ əˈwɛtɚ əv ðə ˈdeɪmdʒɚ tə ðə jəˈnaɪrəd ˈsteɪts ðæn ðɪ ˈʌðɚ ˈkæ̃ndədeɪts|| ˈðeɪ ˈkudn teɪk ˈtæft ɔɚ| ˈdjuɪ ɔn ðə ˈrɛkəd hi həd ˈmeɪd ɪn ˈðæt ˈprikənˈvɛntʃn kæ̃mˈpẽĩn əz ən ˌaɪsəˈleɪʃnəst||

Mr. Cherne: wəl ˈaɪ ˈθɪŋk ɪnˈɛvərəblɪ ˈreɪ| ðət-ə| fɚ ɪgˈzæmpl ə ˈnʌmbɚ əv ðɪ ɪkˈspɾɛʃnz ðət əv bɪn ˈmeɪd baɪ ˈduɪ ɪn ðə ˈpæsᵗ| ˈmʌs ˈpleɪ ˈsʌm ˈpɑɹt̬ ɪn əˈfɛktɪŋ ðɪ ˈæt̬ət̬uˌd̬ ʌv| ðə ˈvɛɚɪəs ˈneɪʃnz| bouθ əˈlaɪˌd̬ ˈʔænˌd̬ ˈɛnəmɪ|| ðɪ ˌɑpəˈzɪʃn fɚ ɪgˈzæmpl t̬ə ˈlɛnd ˈlis|| ðɪ ˈrædə ˈstrɔŋ pəˈzɪʃn ðɚ i ˈtuk| ˈʔɔn-ə| ˈʔeɪˌd̬ t̬u ˈrʌʃə|| ðɪ-ə ˈnʌmbər əv ˈsteɪt̬mənt̬s ðət wə ˈmeɪd| ˈsteɪt̬mənt̬s ʍɪtʃ wə ˈsʌbsəkwəntlɪ rəˈvɚst| ʍətʃ ˈlin ˈvɛɚɪ ˈstrɔŋlɪ ɪn-ɪn-ən ˌaɪsəˈleɪʃnəst dəˈrɛkʃn ət ˈwʌn ˈt̬aɪm æn əz ə ˈmæɚɚ ə ˈfæk| ɪt̬ ˈɪntrɪs ˈmi| ʍɛ̃n -ə ˈraɪt̬ ən ðə ˈfrʌnt ˈrou ˈhɪɚ| ɪz ˈwʌn əv əˈmɛɚəkəz mɔɚ noˈtɔɚɪəs ˈfɪgjuɚz ˈdʒɛɚəld ˈkeɪ ˈsmɪθ rɪˈkɔlz ðət̬ ˈdʒɛɚəlˌd̬ ˈkeɪ ˈsmɪθ ət ˈwʌⁿ ˈt̬aɪᵐ ˈθɔt ðət̬ i ˈfãũnd ɪn ˈd̬uɪ eɪ-eɪ kəmˈpeɪtrɪət̬ ən ˈfãũn ˈsʌbsəkwənt̬lɪ ðət ˈduɪ wəz ˈnou ˈgreɪt ˈsɪmpəθaɪzɚ əv ˈmɪstə ˈsmɪθs-ə ˈræðɚ juˈnik fɪˈlɑsəfɪ||

Mr. Tucker: wəl ˈduɪ ˈkæ̃ⁿᵗ bi ˈblẽĩmd fɚ ˈwʌt ˈdʒɛɚɪ ˈsmɪθ ˈθĩŋks||

Mr. Cherne: wɛl aɪ əˈgri wɪð ju— Mr. Tucker: wɛəl— Mr. Cherne: aɪ dʒʌs ˈsɛd̬ ˈðæt̬— Mr. Tucker: ðən ʍaɪ ˈbrɪŋ ɪt ˈʌp|| Mr. Cherne: ˈwɛl| aɪm ˈbrɪŋɪŋ ɪɾ ˈʌp biˈkɔs ˈd̬uiz ˈbækˈgraun| ˈd̬ʌz kənˈt̬eɪn ə ˈnʌmbɚ əv ˈvɛrɪ ˈstrɔŋ ˈsteɪt̬mənt̬s ðət wə ˈsɜt̬ənlɪ ɪn ət ˈlist ə ˈnũn-ɪntɚˈvɛntʃnəst̬ d̬əˈrɛkʃn|| aɪ ˈθɪŋk ˈju ˈnou ˈðæt̬ əz ˈwɛl əz ˈɛnɪ ˈʌðər əbˈzɚvə| ˈreɪ|| . . .

Mr. Lewis: ˈaɪ ˈsi ˈnou ˈrizn ˈʍaɪ ðə kæ̃mˈpẽĩn ˈʃud əˈfɛkt ðɪ ˈautkʌm əv ðə ˈwɔɚ|| aɪ kən ˈsi hau ɪt ˈkud ɪf ˈaɪðər ʌv ðə pəˈlɪtɪkl ˈpɑɹɾɪz bɪˈgæ̃n ˈθrouɪŋ ˈmʌəd ən ˈjuzɪŋ ˈʌnfɛɚ ˈɑɹgjəmənts| ˈwʌn ˈweɪ ə ðɪ ˈʌðɚ| ən aɪ ˈθɪŋk ðɪ əˈmɛɚkn ˈpʌblɪk əz ə ˈˈhouᵗ| wud rɪˈzɛnt ˈðæt| ˈhɑɹtəlɪ| ən sɪnˈsɪəlɪ| ənd wud| ˈkræk ˈdæ̃ũn ˈɔn| ðə ˈkæ̃ən̈dədeɪt ðət ˈjuzd ˈðouz ˈmɛθədz| ɪn ðɪ ˈæktʃul əˈlɛkʃn||

Mr. Granik: lɛts kʌm ˈbæk tu ðɪ ˈfɔɚmər ˈou ˈpi ˈeɪ ˈtʃif ə ˈmoumənt ˈhɪə| ˈliən| ˈʌɒt ɪz ðə ˈbeɪsɪk ˈdɪfrəns biˈtwin ðə ˈtu ˈpɑɹɾɪz ɔn doˈmɛstɪk ˈgʌvəmənᵗ ˈpɑləsɪ||

Mr. Henderson: ˈwɛl æts ə ˈbɪg ˈɔɚdɚ fɚ ə ˈfju ˈmɪnəts aɪ ʃə ˈθɪŋk| ɪn ðə ˈmẽːĩːn| jud ˈseɪ ðət ðɪ rəˈpʌbləknz-ə ˈstɪk tu ə trəˈdɪʃnəl ˈɔɚ θədaks ikəˈnamɪk əˈproutʃ|| aɪ ˈθɪŋk ðət ðɪ-ə ˈdɛməkræts| hæv diˈpɑɚɾəd frəm ˈðæt ən ˈgɔn ˈouvɚ ɾə ˈʍʌt ˈmaɪt bi ˈkɔlᵈ ðə ˈwɛlˈfɛɚ ikəˈnamɪks|| ˈnãũ ðə trəˈdɪʃənəl əˈproutʃ ɪz ə ˈbælənst ˈbʌdʒɪt| æn ə ˈsɔɚɾəv ˈswɛrɪŋ ˈauɾ ʌv dɪˈpreʃnz| ʌntɪl ˈpraɪsəz ən ˈkɔs: ɚ ɪn rɪˈleɪʃnʃɪp| ən ju ˈgɛt ɪnˈvɛsmənᵗ|| ˈðɛɚz ˈnou ˈsʌtʃ riˈlãĩəns əz ˈfɑɚ æz ðɪ ˈdɛməkræts ɚ kənˈsɜnd ɪts-ə ɪts ðə ˈpɜtʃəsɪŋ ˈpauɚ ɔɚ kəmˈpẽnsəˈtɔɚɪ ˈfɪskl ˈprougræm| ən ˈðɛn ˈkjuɚɪəslɪ əˈnʌf| ðə rɪˈpʌblʌkənz hæv ˈgɑn tu| eɪ ˈsteɪts ˈraɪts ˈɪʃju| ʍɪtʃ wəz ðɪ trəˈdɪʃnəl ˈdɛməkrætɪk pəˈzɪʃn ɔn əˈkãũnt ə ðɪ ˈsauθ ən| ðɪ ˈdɛməkræts

hæv 'tɝnd tu ə 'strɔŋ ''fɛdrəl pə'zɪʃn|| aɪ 'θɪŋk 'ðæts ðə 'beɪsɪk 'dɪfɝns||

Mr. Trohan: wɛl ˀaɪ bɪn 'brɔɾ ʌp ɪn ði 'ɔɝθədɑks 'fæʃn| ən ˀãĩd lãĩk tə 'si ə 'bæləns 'bʌdʒət 'nãũ ən 'ðɛn| 'dʒʌs 'wÃⁿs||

Mr. Henderson: 'wɛl ju kudə 'hæd ə 'bæləns 'bʌdʒət| 'ɛnɪ 'taɪm ju 'wũnɾəd duɝən ðə 'nãĩn'tĩn 'θɝɾɪz| ən 'æftɝ 'nãĩ'tĩn 'θɝɾɪ 'tu| 'dʒʌst əz jə 'dɪd| ɪn 'nãĩn'tĩn 'θɝɾɪ ən 'θɝɾɪ 'wʌn| dʒəst əz 'lɔŋ əz jɝ 'eɪbl tə du 'sÃᵐpn wɪθ 'fɔɝ'tin 'mɪəjən ʌnɪm'plɔɪd 'pipl||

Mr. Lewis: aɪv gaɾ ən aɪ'dɪə 'hɪə| lɛs lɛt ''wɔlɾə 'teɪk 'ouvɝ ɪn ðə 'trɛʒəɾɪ dɪ'pɑɨtmənt fə ðə 'nɛks 'fju 'jɪəz ən 'traɪ tə 'bæləns ðə 'bʌdʒət| ən 'si hau 'wɛl i 'kʌmz 'aut wəð ət|| . . .

Mr. Tucker: wəl 'aɪ 'θɪŋk 'ðɪs 'tɔək ə'baut ə 'bælənst 'bʌdʒət ɪz 'sɪlɪ| wɛn ðə 'kæɾɪɪŋ 'tʃɑɝdʒ əv 'ɑɝ 'pʌblɪk 'dɛt 'æft 'ðɪs 'wɔɝ| ɪz 'goən ə bi əz 'laɝdʒ əz 'ɑɝ 'houᵘ 'bʌdʒət bi''foɝ ðə 'wɔɝ|| 'ʍaɪ 'tɔk ə'baut ət|| bət 'liɑn| ənd 'ju 'tu 'lio| ɑɝ 'ju 'siɝɪəs ʍɛn ju 'θɪŋk ɾɪ'pʌbləknz wɔnə gou 'bæk| tə ðə 'kælvən 'kulɪdʒ 'deɪz| ðət 'ju 'spik ə'baut||

Mr. Henderson: wəl 'ɔl aɪm ri'laɪɪŋ ɔn ɪz ʍʌt— Mr. Tucker: 'ju 'hævnt 'ɾɛd 'ðɛɝ 'plætfɔɝm ɔɝ 'ðɛɝ 'spitʃəz— Mr. Henderson: aɪ ''hæv 'ɾɛd 'ðɛɝ 'plætfɔɝm ən ɪts—

Mr. Lewis: wəl 'liɑn 'ju 'tould mi 'pɝsnəlɪ ðət ju 'θɔt ði-ə ðət ðə ɾə'pʌbləkən 'plætfɔm wəz ə 'vɛɝɪ 'vɛɝɪ 'strɔŋ 'saund ˌikə'nɑmɪk 'prougræm||

Mr. Henderson: aɪ 'sɛd ə wəz ə 'strɔŋ ˀɔɝθədɑks ˌikə'nɑmɪk 'prougræm ænd ɪt 'ɪz—

Mr. Lewis: ju 'dɪdnt 'juz ðə 'wɝd 'ɔθədɒks ʍən ju wə 'tɔkən ɾə 'mi||

Mr. Lindley: meɪ 'aɪ sə'dʒəst ðət ɪt də'pɛndz ɔn 'ʍɪtʃ 'pɑɨɝts əv ðə 'prougræm ju 'rid|| . . .

Mr. Granik: wəl 'gɛɾɪŋ dãũn tə 'keɪsəz 'dʒɛnɾəlmən| ʍʌt ɪz 'jɔɾ ə'pɪnjən æz tə ðə ɾə'zʌlt ɪn no'vɛmbɝ| . . . ðə 'riəl 'bɪg 'ɪʃju||

Mr. Henderson: 'hɛndɝsən 'sɛz 'rouzəvɛlt|| Mr. Trohan: 'trouən 'sɛz 'duɪ|| Mr. Lewis: 'luɪs hæz 'nou 'krɪstᵗ 'bɔl| ən wudn bi 'fulɪʃ ɪ'nʌf tə 'meɪk ə prə'dɪkʃn ɔn ən 'ʌn'gɛsəbl ˌprɑpə'zɪʃn ˀæt 'ðɪs 'taɪm|| Mr. Tucker: 'tʌkɝ 'sɛz 'fɪfɪ 'fɪftɪ| bət 'sʌmθɪŋ meɪ 'hæpn 'θɾi 'deɪz bi'fɔɝ ði 'poulz 'ouɒpn tə 'tʃẽĩndʒ 'ɛvɾɪθɪŋ|| Mr. Henderson: wɛn aɪ kŋ 'gɛt 'fɪftɪ 'fɪftɪ 'ɔf ə 'tʌkɝ ən 'sÃᵐpm hiz ə'geɪnst aɪ 'nou əts 'sɪkstɪ 'fɔɝɾɪ ɪn hɪz 'ouɒn 'mãĩn|| Mr. Cherne: wəl 'tʃɝn ɪz 'pəfɪklɪ 'wɪlɪŋ ət 'ðɪs 'ṯaɪm tə ək'sɛp ðə 'wɔɹəl 'strit 'ɑɨdz ʍətʃ ə 'ṯu ɾə 'wʌn fɝ 'rouzvɛlˀ|| Mr. Trohan: wəl 'aɪ 'seɪ| ðət wɪθ 'twɛnɾɪ 'sɪks ɾə'pʌblɪkn 'gʌvɝnɝz ði 'ãdz 'feɪvɝ 'duɪ|| Mr. Lindley: 'wɛl| 'lɪnlɪ 'sɛz| ðət ðɪ| 'ˀadz ɝ ə'baut 'sɪks tə 'faɪv ɔn 'rouzəvɛlt ət ðə 'prɛzn 'taɪm||

Mr. Tucker: ʍɛn 'lɪnlɪ 'sɛz 'ðæˀ| 'duɪ hæz ə 'swɛl 'tʃæns||

Mr. Lindley: ˈaɪm ˈmɔɚ knˈsɜɚvəɹɪv ðən ˈwɔl ˈstrit||

Mr. Henderson: ˈjuɚ ˈɛvədəntlɪ ɪkˈspɛktɪŋ ˈsʌmθɪŋ tə ˈhæpn ˈðɛn| bət ɪt ˈsɜˀnlɪ mʌst bi ə ˈtɛɚəbl ˈpɪl ˈwɔltɚ fɚ ju tə ˈhæv tu ɪkˈspɛkt ˈduɪ tə ˈwɪn||

Mr. Lewis: aɪ dount ˈsi hau ˈɛ̃nɪ əv ju kən pɚˈdɪkt ʍən ðə ˈkæ̃mˈpɛ̃ĩn hæznt ˈivn ˈhæd ɪts ˈfɜst ˈkæ̃mˈpɛ̃ĩn ˈspitʃ||

Mr. Granik: ˈθæŋk ju ˈdʒɛntlmən| aɪm ˈsɒrɪ ˈauə ˈtaɪmz ˈʌp||

The transcription was prepared with the assistance of the following graduate students in Phonetics in Teachers College, Columbia University: Rosalie Conlan, Blanche Davis, Virginia Holder, and Vivian Lawrence.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

'THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE'

WHAT WOULD one say of a chemical textbook sponsored by an authority on the history of music and written by a man who had made extensive use of paints, drugs, and cosmetics, but had never troubled himself to acquire so much as the rudiments of chemistry? What publisher, indeed, would think of issuing such a book, what critic of seriously considering its merits? To a student of language it is shocking and humiliating to see how little of the results of linguistic science has reached even the upper levels of our culture. The methodical and cumulative study of language, dating from about the year 1800, is approximately as old as that of chemistry. Its results have been plentiful and often unexpected. Here perhaps more than at any other point of attack, science has gained systematic and other than trivial knowledge about specifically human behavior—a notable result, since the study of language seemed at first to hold out no such promise.

The book here under review[1] intends to inform the general reader about language. Its author is evidently an educated man with some knowledge of several European languages. His book is recommended and prefaced by an eminent man of science (in another field, of course), it is being energetically distributed by a reputable publisher, and it has been praised by critics who know nothing about its subject. If one were willing to ignore the tiresome, sciolistically facetious, and repetitious style of this book, its total lack of clarity and structure, and the errors and misunderstandings in which it abounds, there would remain the fact that in the state of its information it lies some decades behind Whitney's excellent popular books, *Language and the Study of Language* (1867) and *The Life and Growth of Language* (1874).

Franz Bopp, the pioneer of comparative grammar, receives some mention, and there is frequent reference to the Indo-European family of languages—to be sure, under the once customary name of 'Aryan,' which in present-day terminology applies only to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. Nevertheless, the reader learns almost nothing of the results of comparative and historical linguistics, and what little he gets is largely wrong. Absent also are the results of the later directions of linguistic research: dialect geography and descriptive analysis.

---

1. *The Loom of Language.* By Frederick Bodmer. New York, W. W. Norton and Company, [1944]. x, 692 pp., illustrated.

This last omission is especially striking, since one of the chief aims of the book is to help the reader to 'learn' foreign languages. This application of linguistic science is the subject of Henry Sweet's classical treatise on *The Practical Study of Languages* (1900). In place of what is there set forth and of what has since been learned, the present book offers a jumble of haphazard fantasies, untried and untriable, such as might occur to anyone who started from scratch to improvise upon this theme. So far as the present reviewer can see, this book would not help, but only befuddle a person who wanted to study a foreign language.

Another principal aim of the book concerns the social significance of language. The author understands this only as it is understood in the popular view of our time. He dwells upon Basic English and upon artificial languages, in the usual hope that some kind of linguistic invention will overcome the social barriers of language. He does not speak of the fundamental and pervasive role of language in human behavior as it has occupied linguists during the present century, although he names Sapir's *Language* (1921) in one of the apparently otiose lists of books which come at the ends of some chapters.

Confusion of writing with language appears in many passages. The terms 'self-expression' and 'correspondence' play a big part in the advice for 'learning' foreign languages; apparently one is to find a foreigner who is willing (and able) to correct one's mistakes in letters (of all things) which one is to write in his language. The difference between complex and simple sentences is illustrated (on pages 165 and following) by two versions of a before-and-after testimonial about a young woman who was greatly benefited by reading *The Loom of Language;* among other things, she started writing to a 'boy friend' in Sweden.

On page 71 there is a table of the English vowels in 'phonetic script': *a* as in *hat,* and so on; the example for *ai* is the name *Einstein.*

Humboldt's distinction (1836) of 'isolating,' 'inflectional,' and 'agglutinative' languages, with 'incorporating' languages as a supplementary type, still appears (page 209) in this very form, except for a strange but characteristic miscomprehension:

> At one time comparative linguists distinguished an *incorporating* or *holophrastic* type to accommodate the Amerindian languages, which illustrate another peculiarity of sound pattern. It is extremely difficult to recognize where one word begins and another ends in the language of the Greenland Eskimo. The same is true of a great variety of indigenous, totally unrelated, vernaculars of the American continent. How far people distinguish one word from the next, especially in rapid speech, varies from one dialect to another within a small group. In a large family such as the Aryan, we find examples of highly holophrastic languages such as French or highly staccato languages such as German.

There is much sprightly reference to 'grammarians,' 'grammar books,' and the like; indeed, the author seems dimly to realize that linguists have ceased to force the description of languages into the framework of traditional Latin grammar. Ignorant, however, of descriptive linguistics, he gives only a garbled version of this same traditional doctrine. His sketches of the principal Romance and Germanic languages amount to no more than a hurried and jumbled summary of what is more clearly stated in any school grammar. This confusion is increased by occasional attempts at dealing with more than one language at a time; for instance (page 270): '. . . *telefoneeren* (Dutch), *telefonieren* (German). German and Dutch verbs of this class have past participles without the *ge-* prefix, e.g. *ich habe telegrafiert*' (this, of course, is not true of Dutch). Elsewhere, also, Dutch fares pretty badly; page 283: '*ik leer, ik leerde; ik lach, ik lachte.* The past participle is formed by putting *ge-* in front of the root and adding *-d* or *-t . . . ik hab geleerd*' (read *heb;* the past participle of *lachen* is *gelachen*); page 282; '*kammer—kammers*' (meaning 'room—rooms'; read *kamer—kamers*). Instead of warning the reader against trying to study more than one language at a time, the author, irresponsibly and in the face of all experience, goes so far as to tell him (page 8) that he may 'benefit by trying to learn German along with Dutch.'

Although most of the book consists in tramping round and round again over a dozen or so of trivial topics, a student of language will find much comic relief: queer misconceptions, alternating attempts at jocularity and at improvisation of scientific judgments, and a generally bizarre and cock-eyed picture of the world of language in which he spends his working days.

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

Yale University

SOMETHING ABOUT TWO TERMINATIONS

THE PRESENT tract of the *Society for Pure English*[1] falls into two parts. The first part deals with what happened to French *-é* in English; the second part, with the pronunciation of *-th* in plural formations. In part one, the author points out that French *-é* may be represented by *-y* or *-ee,* or may be lost altogether; in words not fully naturalized the French form *-é* is commonly kept, accent and all. In the legal terms *puisne* and *visne,* from OF. *puisné* and *visné,* the *-e* has been kept, but hast lost its accent; it is pronounced as if it were spelt *-y*. In one word,

1. *The Fate of French -é in English; The Plural of Nouns Ending in -th.* By C. T. Onions. S.P.E. Tract No. LXI. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1943. 28 pp.

attorney, from OF. *atorné,* the *-é* is represented by *-ey.* In some words an *-e* is written but not pronounced: *trove* (in *treasure trove*), *costive* (from OF. *costivé,* 'constipated'), *defile, dishabille,* and *maugre.* In other cases the *-é* is lost in the spelling too: *assign* (in the formula *heirs and assigns*), *astray* (from OF. *estrayé*), *signal* (adj.), *tinsel* (orig. in the phrase *tynselle saten* 'sparkled satin'), and *vamp* (of a shoe). The author ends this part of the tract by taking up some recent forms like 'the common vulgarism *cafe* (rhyming with *safe*), the American *pave,* and the technical *volplane.*' Monosyllabic *cafe* may well be a British vulgarism, but it is unusual in the United States; though Americans often fail to spell this word with an acute accent, the absence of the accent mark cannot be presumed to mean monosyllabic pronunciation, as the author seems to think. Similarly with the spelling *employes,* of which Dr. Onions cautiously but mistakenly says 'it is not clear whether the third syllable has quite disappeared' (p. 18). In fact, of course, this plural takes primary or secondary stress on the third syllable, and the vowel of that syllable is regularly long. As for *pave,* the dictionaries duly record it as an Americanism, but it is hardly much used; at any rate, I have never heard it. The usual word is *pavement,* of which *pave* may be a short form. In other words, derivation from F. *pavé* is possible but not necessary. It may be added that few Americans restrict *pavement* to the sidewalk, as the British do.

In part two, the author is concerned with the conditions which govern plural voicing. To quote (p. 19),

> The only general rule that can be given for the use of the two types of plural is that nouns having a short vowel before the *-th* take the voiceless plural; but this applies only to insular English, witness such forms as . . . [bæðz, pæðz, mɔðz] vouched for by American authorities.

But these American forms need not go counter to the rule, since in words like *baths, paths, moths* the vowel, though etymologically short, is commonly lengthened (in the singular as well as in the plural). This lengthening before the fricative goes back to the eighteenth century, indeed. In current American speech the [æ] of *bath(s), path(s)* may be half-long or long; it is never truly short, so far as I know. The quantity (and the quality) of the *o* of *broth, froth, moth* and the like vary, but plural voicing commonly goes with a half-long or long variant. By way of corollary to his general rule, the author tells us that 'with words ending in *-rth* (where a short vowel formerly preceded the *r*), the voiceless plural predominates; . . . This may be called the *r*-rule.' He duly notes (p. 26) the variation between voiceless and voiced plural in the two *r*-words *berth* and *hearth,* and the tendency to use variant pronunciations for distinc-

tions in meaning, a tendency most marked in the plurals of *cloth*. He concludes with a generalization and a prediction: 'It seems clear that the range of the voiceless plurals has been continually extending and we may perhaps expect it, in British use, to embrace ultimately all except *mouths* and *oaths*, . . .' (p. 28). This prediction strikes me as pretty radical; the voiced pronunciation seems reasonably secure in *baths, paths* and the like.

Both parts of the tract reflect the author's mastery of the lexical and historical evidence, and his understanding of phonetic processes. Within the modest limits set Dr. Onions has done a thorough and useful piece of work. The tract will be read with pleasure and profit, not only by the laymen for whom it was written, but also by the professional student of the English language.

KEMP MALONE

Johns Hopkins University

PROFESSOR STEWART COMMENTS ON 'HOERE(N)KIL'

The Editor, *American Speech:*

In your April, 1944, issue Professor A. R. Dunlap's article 'An Early American Place-Name Puzzle: "Hoere(n)-Kil" ' attempts the derivation of that name from Dutch *horn*. The only positive evidence cited is from Robert Evelin's letter, '. . . on that North side about five miles within a port, or rode for any Ships called the Nook.' Professor Dunlap assumes that *north* is to be taken as *west*. This is an untenable geographical assumption, for Delaware Bay trends roughly southeast-northwest, so that the north side is the east, or Jersey, shore. This is made clear in the sentence preceding the one quoted: 'I thought good . . . to describe to you from the North side of *Delaware* unto *Hudsons* river.' Evelin then starts at Egg-Bay, follows in his description around Cape May, and up the Jersey side of Delaware Bay and River to the falls. He is not interested in the Delaware-Pennsylvania side, apparently because that was not included in 'Sir *Edmunds* Patent, called new *Albion*.'

Evelin's place 'called the Nook' must therefore be some anchorage inside Cape May, and cannot be the present Lewes Creek in Delaware.

I see no reason why Hoere(n)-kil should be a name under suspicion. It is well attested by early Dutch and English sources. It is apparently an 'incident-name' of a type frequently given by explorers and fur-traders. Two seventeenth-century Dutchmen give testimony as to its origin, and surely everyone admits that such incidents between sailors and Indian women were common. The repetition of the name in Hoeren Eylant, and possibly in Horen Hook, seems to me to make it more, not less, likely.

Finally, the obscenity of the name by modern standards is nothing against its authenticity. All primitive peoples, such as our Indians, seem to give such names as a matter of course. Our frontiersmen frequently did, and do. Sheepherders are notorious. In my files on American place-names I have a very fair collection of examples under the heading 'Obscenity.'

I am grateful to Professor Dunlap for presenting all the evidence on the name. If I am able to take issue, it is only by the unchivalrous means of firing back at him the excellent ammunition which he himself has supplied.

GEORGE R. STEWART

University of California

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

PRESENT DAY ENGLISH

JOSEPH JONES
E. BAGBY ATWOOD**
University of Texas

Active words. London *Times Lit. Supp.*, Dec. 25, 1943, p. 619.
Editorial deploring the jargon of journalism and officialdom.

Adams, J. D. Speaking of books. New York *Times Book Review*, Jan. 16, 1944, p. 2.
Remarks on the fundamentals of language and style. The logical end-all of the work of Stein and Joyce was the extinction of communication.

Airman's lingo. N. Y. *Times Mag.*, June 4, 1944, p. 12.

American names; U.S. is full of odd and wonderful names. *Life*, Jan. 31, 1944, pp. 48-57.
Lists about 300 unusual American place names.

American Notes & Queries, Vol. 4 (Apr.-May 1944).
Absie—American Broadcasting Station in Europe (24), *accurator* (24), *basket cases* (24), *beetle tanks* (8), *Brock's benefit* (8-9), *bronze star* (24), *eye bank* (24), *flying cutter* (24), *gobbledygook talk* (9), *lapkin* (24), *parapooch* (24), *Philadelphia charter* (24), *Popski's private army* (9), *potato whiskey* (24), *sea squatters* (24), *smoke-jumpers* (9), *snowdrops*—white-helmeted American MP's (9).

American usage: 'dumb.' *Notes & Queries*, 186: 211. Apr. 22, 1944.

Anatomy of lingo. *Time*, Apr. 10, 1944, pp. 86-87.

Ancient history on the American scene. *Word Study*, May 1944, pp. 7-8.
Illinois place-names derived from antiquity.

Aryans. N.Y. *Times Mag.*, May 28, 1944, p. 25; June 11, 1944, p. 47.
Letters debating the etymology of *aryan*.

Atkins, Stuart. The American language. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 59: 335-336. May 1944.
Sir Herbert Croft referred to an 'American language' as early as 1797.

Aubin, R. A. Tourist. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 59: 334-335. May 1944.

Aviation Research Associates, eds. The illustrated aviation encyclopedia. Garden City: Garden City Pub. Co., 1944. 236 pp.

Barzun, Jacques. Architects of Babel. *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, July 1, 1944, pp. 7-9.

Basic English. Discussions appear in *Atlantic*, 173, no. 4: 58-60 (Apr. 1944), 173, no. 6: 98-100 (June 1944); *Books Abroad*, 18: 115-119 (Spring 1944); *Bulletin* of Amer. Bus. Writing Assn., March 1944, pp. 9-11; *Chr. Sci. Monitor Weekly Mag.*, Jan. 22, 1944, p. 7; *Economist*, 146: 367 (Mar. 18, 1944); *Education*, 64: 319-325 (Jan. 1944); *Farmer's Advocate*, 78: 652 (Oct. 28, 1943); *Harper's*, March 1944, pp. 339-343; *Printers' Ink*, 207: 21-22 (May 5, 1944); *Time*, March 20, 1944, p. 36; London *Times Educ. Supp.*, March 11, 1944, p. 126.
See also Johnsen.

Bender, J. F. Gobbledygook is defended; reply to M. Maverick. N.Y. *Times Mag.*, June 18, 1944, p. 16.
See also Maverick.

Berry, Edmund G. Clichés and their sources. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 59: 50-52. Jan. 1944.

Blond, Leo, and Jonas, Harold J. A preliminary glossary of the New York City firemen. *Am. Notes & Queries*, 4: 3-8. Apr. 1944.

Bloomfield, Leonard. Secondary and tertiary responses to language. *Language*, 20: 45-55. Apr.-June 1944.

Boas, R. P. Weasels and chameleons: tendency to regard words as realities. *Education*, 64: 259-264. Jan. 1944.

Bodmer, Frederick. The loom of lan-

---

* Many of the items in this bibliography have been supplied by a committee of readers. We wish to acknowledge for this issue the assistance of Theodore Hornberger, A. G. Kennedy, Mamie Meredith, I. W. Russell, F. F. Seely.

** On leave, with the American Red Cross.

guage, ed. and arranged by Lancelot Hogben. N.Y.: Norton, 1944. x, 692 pp.

Bogadek, F. A. English-Croatian and Croatian-English dictionary, 2d ed., enl. N.Y.: Stechert, 1944. 1082 pp.

Bogardus, E. S. Dictionary of cooperation. Los Angeles: Author, 1944. 60 pp.

Broderick, R. C., ed. Concise Catholic dictionary. Milwaukee: Bruce, 1944. 205 pp.

Bryant, Margaret M. Order in sentences. *Col. Eng.*, 5: 434-438. May 1944.

——. The preterite-present verbs of present-day English. *Col. Eng.*, 5: 259-264. Feb. 1944.

Byington, Steven T. Mr. Byington's brief case (II). *Am. Sp.*, 19: 118-125. Apr. 1944.
Comments on a variety of expressions.

——. Rules for anyone. *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, April 1, 1944, p. 16.

Carruthers, Ben F. English studies in the universities of the other American republics. *Col. Eng.*, 5: 439-443. May 1944.

Cat fever. *Yank, the Army Weekly*, May 19, 1944, p. 21.
'Cat fever' is the Navy's term for any respiratory infection involving a fever.

Chinese quick. *Time*, March 6, 1944, pp. 72, 75.

Craigie, Sir W. A. and Hulbert, J. R., eds. A dictionary of American English on historical principles; Pt. 20, Virginian dogwood–zu-zu. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1944. 232 pp.
For a list of comments see Dictionary of American English.

Davis, Elrick B. Some new words by war out of wood. *Am. Sp.*, 19: 91-96. Apr. 1944.

D-Day, H-Hour. N.Y. *Times Mag.*, June 11, 1944, p. 4.
Note explaining origins and meanings of these terms.

Dictionary of American English. Reviews and comments upon the completed DAE appear in *Am. Lit.*, 16: 162-163 (May 1944); *Chr. Sci. Monitor Weekly Mag.*, April 1, 1944, p. 6; *Nation*, 158: 311-312 (Mar. 11, 1944); *New Yorker*, Feb. 19, 1944, pp. 81-86; *Think*, 10: 40 (Feb. 1944); *Time*, Feb. 7, 1944, p. 62; N.Y. *Times Book Review*, Jan. 23, 1944, pp. 1, 18. See also Growth of *DAE*.

Dobbie, Elliott V. K. The word 'commando.' *Am. Sp.*, 19: 81-90. Apr. 1944.

Dunlap, A. R. An early American place-name puzzle: 'Hoere(n)-kil.' *Am. Sp.*, 19: 112-114. Apr. 1944.

English translated. *Time*, April 12, 1943, p. 63.
An American-English glossary of 12 terms.

Fairchild, H. P., ed. Dictionary of sociology. N.Y.: Philosophical Lib., 1944. 342 pp.

Feinstein, George. In defense of 'but yet.' *Word Study*, May, 1944, p. 5.

Ferguson, Otis. Vocabulary for lakes, deep seas, and inland waters. *Am. Sp.*, 19: 103-111. Apr. 1944.

Foley, Louis. Defense of diagnosis. *Word Study*, May 1944, pp. 6-7.

Fullmer, Rev. D.C. The vocabulary of religion. Washington: Catholic Univ. of Am. Press, 1943. 103 pp.

Glicksberg, Charles I. Vocabulary and intelligence. *Etc.*, 1: 92-98. Winter 1943-44.

Greet, W. Cabell. World words: recommended pronunciations. N.Y.: Columbia, 1944. 402 pp.
A revision and enlargement of *War Words*, by the same author.

Growth of *A Dictionary of American English*. *Pub. Weekly*, 145: 675-681. Feb. 5, 1944.

Hanson, H. International languages for one world. *Education*, 64: 272-284. Jan. 1944.

Hardy, William G. The philosophy of modern semantics. *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 30: 191-198. Apr. 1944.

Hayakawa, S. I. Linguistics and the future. *Etc.*, 1: 148-153. Spring 1944.

Herman, Lewis, and Herman, Marguerite S. Talk American; a practical guide for eliminating a German accent. Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1944. xi, 129 pp.

House, R. W. Do pupils learn to use diacritical marks? *Jour. Ed. Research*, 37: 352-355. Jan. 1944.

Jepson, W. L. Common names of plants. *Word Study*, April 1944, p. 6.

Johnsen, Julia E., ed. Basic English. N.Y.: H. W. Wilson, 1944. 234 pp.

A collection of opinions and arguments both for and against Basic English.

Le Coq, J. P. Neglected point of grammar, the passive voice. *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, 28: 117-122. Feb. 1944.

Lewis, C. S. Is English doomed? London *Spectator*, Feb. 11, 1944, p. 121.
Comment upon a proposal by the British Board of Education to relax standards in the preparation of teachers of English. Other comment appears *ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1944, pp. 148-149, and Feb. 25, 1944, pp. 172-173.

Linton, A. C. New Orleans street names record history. *Illinois Central Magazine*, March 1944, pp. 5-6.

Livingston, Charles H. English sheer (off). *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 59: 42-45. Jan. 1944.

Long, E. Hudson. Ancestry of the Southerner's 'you all.' *South. Lit. Mess.*, 5: 518. Nov.-Dec. 1943.

McAtee, W. L. Notes on Thornton's *Glossary*. Washington: privately printed, 1942.
Some corrections and amplifications, chiefly of plant and animal terms, made by a biologist.

Maverick, Maury. The case against 'gobbledygook.' N. Y. *Times Mag.*, May 21, 1944, p. 11.
A complaint against vague, pompous, and repetitious English. See also Bender.

Nazi words for it. N. Y. *Times Mag.*, May 14, 1944, p. 2.

New naval phraseology, in English, French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Portuguese. Annapolis: U. S. Naval Inst., 1944. 336 pp.

Newmark, Maxim, ed. Illustrated technical dictionary. N.Y.: Philosophical Library, 1944. 358 pp.

O'Neill, J. P. Gazelleburger. *Yank, the Army Weekly*, May 12, 1944, p. 7.

Partridge, Eric. Word-histories of R.A.F. slang. *Nineteenth Cent. & After*, 135: 181-184. Apr. 1944.

Pearce, Thomas M. Weapons and names. *Word Study*, Feb. 1944, pp. 1-2.

Pei, Mario A. Function of languages in the post-war world. *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, 28: 289-291. Mar. 1944.

——. Languages for war and peace. N.Y.: Vanni, 1943. 575 pp.

Phillips, Alan. In defence of English. London *Spectator*, Jan. 7, 1944, p. 8.
Against neologisms such as *evacuee* and *blitz*. Opposing views appear *ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1944, p. 33.

Pomerantz, A. B. Miss Anderson's critique of general semantics. *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 30: 200-201. Apr. 1944.

Pooley, Robert C.; Bryant, Margaret M.; Bolinger, Dwight L. Rediagnosis of dislocation. *Word Study*, Feb. 1944, pp. 2-5.
Three replies to Professor Louis Foley's attack upon the split infinitive. See also Foley.

Pound, Louise. Miscellany. *Am. Sp.*, 19: 146-158. Apr. 1944.

Robb, L. A., comp. Engineers' dictionary, Spanish-English and English-Spanish. N.Y.: Wiley, 1944. 431 pp.

Roberts, Murat H. The science of idiom: a method of inquiry into the cognitive design of language. *PMLA*, 59: 291-306. Mar. 1944.

Roehm, A. I. Audio-visual ideograph method of teaching language and grammar. *Peabody Jour. Educ.*, 21: 258-268. Mar. 1944.

Rose, Forrest H. Two and two make one what? *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 30: 199-200. Apr. 1944.
Satirical dialogue on general semantics.

Rothenberg, Julius G. The English of *Aufbau*. *Am. Sp.*, 19: 97-102. Apr. 1944.
Aufbau is an English-German newspaper for refugees.

Samuels, Gertrude. We enter our mairzy doat-age. N. Y. *Times Mag.*, Feb. 20, 1944, pp. 22, 41.
Development and explanation of *mairzy*, 'the baffling new nursery talk' or 'double-talk.'

Ship slanguage. *Ships*, 4: 8. Aug. 1943.

Shokes, C. D. God's chillun talkin'. *Prairie Schooner*, 17: 258-264. Winter 1943.
On the Gullah dialect.

Smith, Weston. *Financial World* directory of tradenames: 1. chemical-base products, 2. directory of drug tradenames. *Financial World*, 81, no. 15: 9-12. Apr. 12, 1944.

Spitzer, Leo. Charade. *Phil. Quart.*, 23: 77-83. Jan. 1944.

Stewart, George R. The source of the name 'Oregon.' *Am. Sp.*, 19: 115-117. Apr. 1944.

Tantrum. London *Times Lit. Supp.*, Jan. 22, 1944, p. 43.
Letter tracing *tantrum's* hitherto unascertained origin to Irish provincialisms.

Taube, E. Mining terms of obscure origins. *Sci. Month.*, 58: 454-456. June 1944.

Thorndike, Edward L. Euphony and cacophony of English words and sounds. *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 30: 201-207. Apr. 1944.

Turner, Edward Laroque. Will Babel be beaten? *Am. Scholar*, 13: 322-328. Summer, 1944.

Velten, H. V. The growth of phonemic and lexical patterns in infant language. *Language*, 19: 281-292. Oct.-Dec. 1943.

War vocabulary study unit. *Word Study*, April, 1944, pp. 1-6.
An extensive list of war words, divided into several categories.

Wasicky, R. Use of an internationally understandable language in scientific publications and in congresses. *Science*, 99: 297. April 14, 1944.

Whyte, John. American words and ways. New York: Viking, 1944. xvi, 184 pp.

——. The future tense in English; future and modal auxiliaries: 'shall' and 'will,' 'to be going.' *Col. Eng.*, 5: 333-337. Mar. 1944.

Williams, Edna R. The conflict of homonyms in English. New Haven: Yale, 1944. viii, 130 pp.

Wilson, George P. Instructions to collectors of dialect. *Pub. Am. Dial. Soc.*, No. 1, 1944. 14 pp.

PHONETICS

S. N. Treviño
University of Chicago

Cochran, L. A new phonetic discrimination test using words as stimuli. *Speech Abstracts*, 4: 57. 1944.
Used chiefly for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes.

Coenen, F. E. Phonetics and Standard German. *German Quart.*, 16: 188-193. Nov. 1943.
Emphasizes the necessity for German teachers to know physiological phonetics.

Davis, E. B. English stress accent. *College English*, 5: 136-141. Dec. 1943.

Delattre, P. La leçon de phonétique de Maurice Chevalier. *French Rev.*, 17: 99-104. Dec. 1943.
Phonetic analysis of a song and suggestions for using the phonograph record containing it.

——. L'aperture et la syllabation phonétique. *French Rev.*, 17: 281-285. Mar. 1944.
French phonetic syllabication is not determined by absolute rules, but rather by tendencies towards the degree of opening or closing.

Donald, J. Genesis of the human voice. *Glasgow Medical Jour.*, 140: 1-11. July 1943.

Hall, Jr., R. A. Italian phonemes and orthography. *Italica*, 21: 72-82. June 1944.

Henrikson, E. H. A note on voice recordings. *Jour. Speech Disorders*, 8: 133-135. 1943.
Fifty students rated recorded samples of their speech in terms of pitch, rate, and loudness. They showed wide differences in their judgments.

Hultzén, L. S. Vowel quality in unstressed syllables in American English. *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 29: 451-457. Dec. 1943.
Discusses the value of distinguishing three degrees of obscuration of vowels in unstressed syllables.

Jeffress, L. A. Variations in pitch. *Am. Jour. Psych.*, 57: 63-76. Jan. 1944.
The variations in pitch between the two ears at different times are significant and irregular, and support the place theory of pitch.

Milligan, E. E., and Bottke, K. G. Frequency of error in American students' pronunciation of French. *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, 27: 55-61. Jan. 1943.
Tabular lists of errors revealed by oral tests administered to 714 first- and second-year students.

Paget, R. A. S. The origin of language. *Science,* 99: 14-15. Jan. 7, 1944.
Impugns Thorndike's babble-luck theory and defends his own gesture theory, citing 'divined interpretations' from Chinese and Bohemian for which the correlation between gesture and meaning was found to be better than fifty per cent.

Pike, K. L. Phonemics: a technic for reducing language to writing. Glendale, Calif.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1943. v, 127 pp. (Mimeographed.)

Snidecor, J. C. A comparative study of the pitch and duration characteristics of impromptu speaking and oral reading. *Speech Monographs,* 10: 50-56. 1943.
Physical analyses of the voices of six superior speakers revealed that slightly higher pitch, greater pitch variability, and greater rate of pitch change and extent is used in reading than in speaking. The proportion of phonated time to total time was about equal in both performances.

Twaddell, W. F. On the teaching of *ü* and *ö*. *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht,* 26: 103-104. Feb. 1944.
Recommends that the whole word or at least the syllable containing either of these sounds should be pronounced with rounded lips.

Velten, H. V. The growth of phonemic and lexical patterns in infant language. *Language,* 19: 281-292. Oct.-Dec. 1943.
A record and discussion of the development of speech in the author's daughter from her eleventh to her thirty-sixth month.

Withers, A. M. On Spanish *ai, ei* and *ou*. *Hispania,* 27: 45-46. Feb. 1944.
Objects to certain English equivalents given for these sounds.

Wheatley, Katherine E. The use and abuse of English equivalents in the teaching of French vowel sounds. *French Rev.,* 17: 160-164. Jan. 1944.
'Judicious use of English equivalents could be an economical and effective method of teaching French vowels to beginners. . . .' But as used now, it does more harm than good.

AMONG THE NEW WORDS

I. WILLIS RUSSELL
University of Alabama

In response to the query in ANW (Apr. 1943, p. 148) for information on the etymology of *blimp,* Mr. Harold Wentworth has made a careful search and written an interesting reply. Many of the sources he checked have no material on the word. The term apparently came out of the last war and is recorded in the OED Sup. as early as 1916. For the etymology, the OED Sup. refers to its 1918 quotation, which reads: *'Illustr. Lond. News* 27 July 96 Nobody in the R. N. A. S. ever called them anything but "Blimps," an onomatopoeic name invented by that genius for apposite nomenclature, the later Horace Shortt.' A more likely etymology, thinks Mr. Wentworth, is suggested by a citation from the Ithaca (N. Y.) *Journal-News,* 14 Jan. 1932: '[*Blimp*] is said to have originated from "B" for "balloon" and "limp." ' ' "B.limp," ' remarks Mr. Wentworth, 'seems a reasonable shortening, such as might be used in military records.' The 1943 Webster's NID says the word was 'Prob. suggested by *limp* adj.' Thus far Mr. Wentworth's material. To it should be added a citation furnished by Mr. Bolinger from an article in the *Reader's Digest,* Sept. 1942, p. 67: 'Experimenting with lighter-than-air craft of the nonrigid type during the first World War, the British found that Model "A-limp" did not stand up in battle. "B-limp" did and became the Blimp.'

The compounding of nouns and past participial adjectives is common in English. Sometimes, as with *-fed,* the adjective acts like a suffix; for example, *corn-fed, milk-fed, bottle-fed.* The war has brought forward two others, *-based* and *-borne,* which are being freely used in the formation of compounds. In the examples which follow no attempt has been made to obtain early dates. 'Britain-based heavy craft were grounded . . .' (AP. in B'ham *News* 27 May 1944 p. 1/6); '. . . the Allies hurled 6,000 British-based planes . . .' (AP. in Tuscaloosa *News* 21 May 1944 p. 1/6); '. . . carrier-based planes . . .' (AP., *ibid.,* 15 Dec. 1943 p. 4); '. . . Nimitz announced Sunday that fleet-based bombers thumped rockets and bombs into Guam's railway facilities' (AP. desp. in B'ham *News* 17 July 1944 p. 1/3); 'The attack was preceded by a diversionary raid . . . by India-based American Liberator bombers' (AP. in Tuscaloosa *News* 23 Apr. 1944 p. 1/1); '. . . Fortresses and Liberators participated in today's Italy-based onslaught . . .' (AP., *ibid.* 13 Apr. 1944 p. 1/2); '. . . Mitscher's planes took Japanese by surprise and wiped out most of their land-based air-

power' (*Life* 17 July 1944 p. 19); '. . . I'd been flying PBY's in a patrol squadron shore-based since early in 1942 in Australia' (*Sat. Eve. Post* 27 May 1944 p. 10/1).

The first of the compounds with *-borne* is *air-borne,* which will merit glossarial treatment in a later issue. Some others are '. . . carrier-borne fighter' (Lond. *Times* 19 May 1944 p. 6/2); 'Fourteen men of the first glider-borne force on Sicily . . .' (N.Y. *Times* 13 July 1943 p. 3/4); '. . . mule-borne food and ammunition follows French forces . . .' (*Life* 29 May p. 32); '. . . road-borne supplies to support what he gets by air' (Maj. G. F. Eliot in B'ham *News* 7 Apr. 1944 p. 9/2); 'Naval losses for the sea-borne forces were described . . . as "very, very small" . . .' (AP. in Tuscaloosa *News* 6 June 1944 p. 1/8); 'The water-borne invasion completed, [tanks] tend to replace landing craft on the essentiality list' (AP. in B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 2 July 1944 p. 4-A/4).

First among the acknowledgments for this issue must come that to Mr. Dwight L. Bolinger. His extensive files, now in my keeping, contain a number of words already checked and ready for publication. Some of these are in the present glossary, though additional examples sometimes have been cited. Other words will be drawn upon for future issues. Citations from individuals are distributed as follows: Mr. Bolinger nine; Mr. John P. Bethel four, including the earliest for *flat-top* and *seabee;* Miss Mamie Meredith three; and Mr. Harold Wentworth two. Mr. Harold F. Cotter contributed the earliest citation for *cutback,* Mr. A. T. Hench the earliest American illustration of 'obliteration bombing,' and Mr. J. B. McMillan the earliest for *airgraph.* Thanks are also due Miss Meredith and Mr. Wentworth for helpful checking, and Mr. S. W. Tyler for technical information on *grasshopper.*

In order to present as much evidence as possible in the glossary, references are frequently included in their proper places without the actual citations.

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

AIRGRAPH. (British term for V-Mail, q. v.)—1941 Talladega (Ala.) *Daily Home* 22 Apr. p. 1 (INS.) Science and the postal service have developed a new type of mail—'airgraph.' 1942 *Chr. Sci. Mon.* 21 Mar. p. 4/6 (CP.). N. Y. *Times* 26 June p. 18/7 The 10,000,000 airgraph letter . . . was recently dispatched . . .

BABY FLAT-TOP. (See quot. 1944 Feb.). See *Flat-top.*—1943 Time 22 Nov.

p. 26/3 That beats a previous high scorer: the escort carrier 'B' . . . , another 'baby flat-top' . . . 1944 *ibid.* 24 Jan. p. 27. Tuscaloosa *News* 21 Feb. p. 1/7 (AP.). . . . American shipyards have turned out scores of escort carriers which represent conversion of cargo-type ships into 'baby flat-tops' . . .

BANGALORE (TORPEDO). [Prob. after Bangalore, India.] 'A device for clearing a pathway through a barbed wire entanglement. . . . Introduced on the Western Front early in 1915.' 1925 (Fraser and Gibbons *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* Lond. Routledge). (See also quots.) —1941 *Pop. Sci.* Aug. p. 79. To blast a path through enemy wire, a Bangalore torpedo—a length of pipe filled with explosive, is shoved under it . . . 1942 *Read. Dig.* Dec. p. 82/1-2. 1943 *Fortune* Feb. p. 124/1 The bangalore, named for the city in India where a clever British officer invented it, consists of sections of pipe about six feet long and packed with TNT. One section fits in the end of another, so that soldiers can push a continuous length of 200 feet through a mine field and barbed-wire entanglement. When the bangalore goes off most of the mines for three feet on each side of it explode, and the barbed wire is blasted away. 1944 B'ham *News* 25 Apr. p. 9 (AP.) *Ibid.* 7 July p. 4/3-4 (AP.).

BLOCKBUSTER, BLOCK-BUSTER, BLOCK BUSTER. 'An air bomb large enough to knock down a whole block of houses' 1944 (Mencken *Am. Sp.* Feb. p. 8/1); from one to four tons in weight.—1942 *Time* 14 Sept. p. 56. *Newsweek* 21 Sept. p. 25 The first group of mighty four-engined Lancasters hit Düsseldorf with 2-ton 'block-busters.' 1943 *Nebraska Alumnus* Oct. (Adv.) It takes a block-buster only a few seconds to fall from a high-flying U.S. bomber to its bull's eye on Berlin . . .

2. *Fig.* A bombshell (*fig.*).—1943 *Read. Dig.* Mar. p. 25/2 The board's refusal to defer such men hit the railroads with the force of a triple block-buster. *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 30 Oct. p. 40/1. 1944 *Time* 12 June p. 11/1 The President then quietly dropped his blockbuster. *b.* 1943 *Lad. Home Jour.* Nov. p. 116 The day was an emotional block buster for them all. 1944 Tuscaloosa *News* 7 July p. 4/3 (AP.) . . . they are now starting to wonder openly if the administration isn't supplying the opposition with a few political block-busters in the handling of foreign policy. *Time* 17 July pp. 22/3.

CUT-BACK, CUTBACK. '*Gardening.* A plant which has been pruned by cutting off shoots close back to the main stem.' OED [1897-]. + 'A sharp cut in the production of raw materials or manufactured goods, as for the armed services, due to a sudden or unforeseen lessening of demand.' 1944 (*New Intern. Yearbook for 1943*).—1943 *The Iron Age* 6 May p. 152 More than 90 per cent of prime contractors holding Army ordnance contracts are now operating . . . below capacity because of recent cut-backs in ordnance contracts . . . 1944 *Cur. Hist.* Jan. p. 14. *Time* 12 June p. 14/1. B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 2 July p. 4-A/3 (AP.) Sharp cut-backs in war contracts . . . will be paralleled by cut-backs in the war-swollen membership lists of the labor unions.

DRY RUN. Something done for practice only, as a dress rehearsal. 1942 (Colby *Army Talk*).—1941 *Am. Sp.* Oct. p. 165/1. 1943 New Haven *Register* 1 Aug. p. 9/1. *Sat. Eve. Post* 27 Nov. p. 12 She had to locate his pulse, get her watch ready and make a couple of dry runs. 1944 *Lad. Home Jour.* June p. 31/1 . . . hundreds of dry runs—simulated bombings in which no bombs are actually dropped.

FESTUNG EUROPA. (*Ger.* Fortress Europe, q. v.)—1942 *Nation* 19 Dec. p. 682/1 Before long Fortress Europe (*Festung Europa*) will be as familiar a term as Blitzkrieg or the second front. *Newsweek* 28 Dec. p. 44/1. 1943 *Time* 20 Sept. p. 34/1. 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 27 May p. 12/1. *Harper's* July (Adv.) 100 hours before the dawn of D-Day, . . . Murrow . . . made the first broadcast from a bomber over Festung Europa.

+FLAT-TOP. An American perennial herb. 1817-8–. +An aircraft carrier. Also attrib.—1942 Pratt *The Navy Has Wings*

(Harper & Bros.) p. 190 'Scratch one flat-top,' Commander Dixon's voice had shouted . . . through the ship's radio . . . 1943 Tuscaloosa *News* 15 Dec. p. 4 (AP.). *Sat. Eve. Post.* 18 Dec. p. 100/2. 1944 Tuscaloosa *News* 21 Feb. p. 1/1 . . . the navy has accumulated enough flat-top strength for a . . . two-day assault . . .

FORTRESS EUROPE. Europe within its outer defences, described by Nazis as a fortress. Goebbels hoped the idea might help discourage the Allies and force them into a peace. See *Festung Europa.*—1942 *Nation* 19 Dec. p. 682 . . . it was the Italian press which first launched the idea of *Fortress Europe* . . . 1943 New Haven *Eve. Regist.* 7 Aug. p. 5/4 The so-called fortress of Europe is threatened . . . 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 27 May p. 12/1 . . . we shall still face the real problem of Fortress Europe, the penetration of the German mind.

GRASSHOPPER*. +Name given to high-winged cabin monoplanes of the tandem type. Low landing and take-off speeds enable them to be operated from small fields. They are equipped with two-way radio. (See quots.)—1942 *Pop. Sci.* Jan. p. 63 Grasshoppers, new odd-job army planes (quoted *Read. Guide*). 1943 Colby *Army Talk* PUDDLE JUMPER. Slow airplane used for observation of limited areas and for message carrying between headquarters, and for checking positions of front-line troops. Its low flight gives it this name, but it is also called a 'grasshopper,' and this more widely. 1944 Tuscaloosa *News* 17 Feb. p. 4/4 (AP.). B'ham *News—Age-Her.* 19 Mar. p. 14-A. *Sat. Eve. Post* 1 Apr. p. 6 Grasshoppers Over the Caissons.

+LIE DETECTOR. Popular name for the polygraph, used as an aid in obtaining confessions from those suspected of crimes. When one lies, his fear of detection is recorded on the machine. Great skill and care are required in its use.—1931 *Lit. Dig.* 26 Dec. p. 35 The Lie-Detector. [¶] An interesting device, with great possibilities . . . 1935 *Forum* Jan. p. 15/1. 1938 *Amer. City* May p. 15. 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* 15 Apr. p. 9/3 Keeler calls the machine the 'polygraph'. . . . He and other scientists don't like the name 'lie detector.' . . . But the term 'lie detector' is here to stay.

MAE WEST, *n.* Also attrib. (See quots.)—1940 *Read. Dig.* May p. 39 . . . Mae West for a life jacket. 1941 N. Y. *Times Mag.* 27 July p. 21/2 One can understand much more easily why an airman's life-belt should be a 'Mae West.' It fits over the shoulders and gives the wearer a somewhat feminine figure. 1942 Parry *War Dict.* . . . the bulging padded uniform used by U. S. aviators. Also a life preserver. 1943 *Read. Dig.* June p. 125/1. 1944 *Life* 12 June p. 117 Airman is kept afloat by his 'Mae West' life belt . . .

OBLITERATION BOMBING. Blotting out by concentrated bombing.—1943 Lond. *Spect.* 24 Sept. p. 289 'Obliteration' bombing. H. J. C. Grierson *ibid.* 8 Oct. p. 337. 1944 Balto. *Sun* 9 Mar. p. 8/2 The most frequent answer . . . is that even 'obliteration bombing' is morally justifiable if it serves to shorten the war and to save human lives . . . Tuscaloosa *News* 20 Mar. p. 6/1 (AP.). *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 8 Apr. p. 14/1 . . . Vera Brittain, has become the spearhead of a movement . . . directed against the mass air attacks of enemy cities, which she describes as 'obliteration bombings.'

OPEN CITY. [Cf. OED s. v. *open* adj. 3 and quot. *c.* 825 *Urbs patens,* open burh.] 'A city declared to be unfortified or undefended and hence, under international law, exempt from enemy bombardment.' 1942 (Parry *War Dict.*)—1939 N. Y. *Times* 18 Sept. p. 5/5 (AP.) President Moscicki said his message was in reply to Mr. Roosevelt's message, 'in which you recommend that open cities must not be bombed.' 1940 *ibid.* 14 June p. 1/6-7. 1942 *Time* 5 Jan. p. 20/3. 1944 *Newsweek* 12 June p. 24/1-2 Lt. Gen. . . . Clark . . . reached the outskirts of Rome and then held his fire for three hours to permit the Germans to withdraw in accordance with their self-proclaimed designation of Rome as an open city.

+SEABEE. (See quots.)—1942 Springfield *Eve. Union* 18 Mar. p. 24 The word

'seabees' will be used by the Navy to designate newly-formed construction battalions. 1943 *Look* 6 Apr. p. 32 These white-capped Builders are the Seabees (C. B.'s—Construction Battalions) . . . they're all specialists—mechanics, welders, carpenters, metalsmiths, skilled in some 60 trades. 1944 *Harper's* May p. 567/2 That night our transports left the bay, which tells its own story of how fast and well the Seabees had worked to unload them.

TASK FORCE. A group of different types of naval vessels ordered to carry out a specific job or task. Sometimes applied to land operations.—1942 Harsch *Germany at War* (N. Y.: For. Pol. Ass'n) p. 43 Another important . . . ingredient of German military success is the system of organizing an offensive. It begins on the planning sheets with a particular campaign. The High Command . . . selects the man it considers best qualified for the particular operation. That man then proceeds to gather around him what is called a 'task force.' He becomes responsible for the whole operation . . . Such operations usually require naval and air forces as well as land forces. 1942 *Time* 6 Apr. p. 25/1 The task force crept up before dawn . . . 1943 *Fortune* Feb. p. 124/1 Now is the time for the assault squad—the small task force . . .—to play its part. 1944 *Life* 8 May p. 22/3 The Americans just did not have enough carriers to defend a task force and attack at the same time.

WALKIE (-EE, -Y)-TALKIE (-EE, -Y). 'Portable radio receiving and sending apparatus.' 1941 (*Am. Sp.* Oct. p. 169/2). See *handie-talkie, Am. Sp.* Dec. 1943 p. 303/1.—1940 *Newsweek* 18 Nov. p. 40. 1941 *Nat. Geog. Mag.* July p. 31 Smaller outfits carried by one soldier are known in Army slang as *'walkee-talkees.'* 1942 *Time* 28 Sept. p. 46/2. 1943 Tregaskis *Guadalcanal Diary* (Random House) p. 209. 1944 *Life* 3 July p. 12/1 Above the noise of hundreds of bombs . . . , his voice barked through the walkie-talkie . . .

WORKSHOP*, *n.* Also attrib. +An informal study-group organized to permit teachers to apply the principles of progressive education to the solution of their own educational problems. (See first quot.) —1937 N.Y. *Times* 1 Aug. VI p. 5/3 The major requirement for admission to this Summer workshop is an approved project for which the applicant seeks aid and advice. Under the guidance of twenty-five personal advisers, trained in the arts of curriculum designing and evaluation, the teacher-students meet daily from 8:30 to 10 each morning for group discussions and later in the day for private conferences. *Ibid.* p. 5/4 Regarding the importance of the workshop idea to American education, Wilford M. Aikin . . . said . . . 1944 *Mus. Amer.* 25 Mar. p. 28. B'ham *News* 24 May p. 18/2 Language teachers . . . met in the language workshop at Birmingham-Southern College . . . *Ibid.* 30 May p. 16/1.

+V-MAIL. (See quot. 1944.)—1942 N.Y. *Times* 13 June p. 17/6 The new V-Mail for United States overseas forces, patterned after the British microfilm postal system, was started when letters were delivered to President Roosevelt today . . . *Fortune* Nov. p. 72 Last March the War Department launched V-Mail Service . . . 1944 *Sat. Eve. Post* p. 37 (Adv.) What's the secret of V-Mail? By photography on micro-film, your hand-written letter shrinks from page to postage-stamp size. Now a miniature—it crosses the ocean. Enlarged overseas, the letter becomes readable V-Mail . . .

MISCELLANY

LOUISE POUND
University of Nebraska

'START-NAKED'

In an article 'The survival of "start-naked" in the South' (in *Humanistic Studies in Honor of John Calvin Metcalf,* University of Virginia Studies, Vol. 1, University of Virginia, 1941, pp. 48-64) I summarized what the NED says concerning the original form 'start-naked' and the rebuilt form 'stark-naked,' and then gave the material that I had collected in the South showing a widespread survival of the older form 'start-naked.' This material I had gotten orally or by letter. At the time I knew of no printed examples of the expression.

But recently my colleague Dean James Southall Wilson kindly pointed out to me two examples of it in print. They are in a story by Dr. George W. Bagby entitled 'A Horrible Scrape' published in 1863. The story tells a comically unhappy experience of a man in the 'sparsely settled mountain districts of Virginia.' In hunting for shelter as night came on, he had to cross a stream. Having no change of clothes with him, he took off his clothes and left them on the bank to stay dry, swam the stream, and headed for a clearing. Suddenly as he was climbing over a fence he came upon a farmer's wife! What followed was the ridiculous conversation between the naked man on the one hand and the farmer and his wife on the other. They not only refused to take him in but warned him that the man who owned the farm next to theirs would treat him even worse if he asked for lodging there. But actually the neighboring farmer took him in and eventually all was well.

The passages containing 'start-naked' or its enlarged variants are: (1) 'What in the nation is you a-doing up thar on my fence, start bodily naked this time o' night, skeering my wife and cattle to death?' (2) 'Thar's a man thar that'll make cat-fish bait out of you in a minute if you go fooling 'bout him, stripped start naked, certain.'

The passages may be found in the *Southern Literary Messenger,* Vol. 35, March 1863, p. 172, col. 2, and p. 173, col. 2. They are also in *Selections from the Miscellaneous Writings of Dr. George W. Bagby* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1885, 2 vols.), Vol. 2, pp. 197 and 200. The story is not reprinted in the most recent collection of Bagby's writings, *The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches* (Richmond: the Dietz Press, 1943); it is merely listed in the bibliography.

ATCHESON L. HENCH
University of Virginia

A NEW-ENGLAND DIALOGUE

The early volumes of *Notes and Queries* contain a number of com-

munications from Philadelphia signed 'Uneda.' One of these (First Series, x [1854], 84) is not without interest to students of American English.

The following presents the most striking peculiarities in the language and pronunciation of the people of New England:

R. Samwell, Samwell!

S. What say?

R. Where's your brother *Danel?*

S. He's *to* the tavern.

R. He *hadn't ought* to be *to* the tavern. I'll tell your mother of him.

S. Tell away: she's *up garret.*

R. Where's your cousin Jeremi*ur*?

S. He's *to* uncle Obedi*ur*'s. Uncle has gone to the Legislat*ur*.

R. Does Jeremi*ur* behave well now?

S. No, he's very *ugly*. He tried to burn the barn.

R. Do tell!

S. Yes, it's the nat*ur* of him to play such tricks. Uncle had thrashed him for something, and next thing the farm was in a blaze.

R. Let me know.

S. Yes, *Miss* (Mrs.) Smith caught him at it.

R. Where's Euphemi*ur*? How old is she now?

S. She's two years old, and lives with her *father-in-law* (step-father).

R. Did her father leave much?

S. Not much. His estate was *apprized* by the *apprizers* at four thousand dollars.

R. That's a very low *apprizement.*

B. J. WHITING
Harvard University

MORE NOTES BY MR. BYINGTON

'Moot'

It is now usual among us to call a question which has the form of a practical (especially a social) problem, but which the experiences of life do not call on us to decide in practice, an *academic* question. Presumably the original form was *merely academic* or *purely academic;* but at present it is common to omit the adverb, treating the adverb as a mere intensive to be used or omitted optionally.

An analogous term with a more complicated history is *moot,* applied to legal questions. Setting aside more primitive uses now obsolete or historical, a moot was a mock court held by law students for exercise in arguing disputable questions. This use, says the *NED,* now survives only at Gray's Inn. In America the same thing is called a *moot court.* The fact that the *DAE* takes its principal quotations for this from the *NED* should not be interpreted as meaning that the American term is at all rare, but may indicate that it does not usually get into print. A case suitable for bringing before the moot would naturally be, and was, a *moot case;* hence there has arisen a general adjectival use of *moot* to mean 'disputable,' 'on which conflicting opinions are held.' Instead of adjectival *moot* we also say *mooted;* I guess it is by back-formation from *mooted* that we have the verb *moot,* to 'raise' a question, to start it as a topic for dispute. So far the *NED.*

In America the *moot court* has lately started a new proliferation of usage. When a disputable legal question has ceased to have any practical application which makes it possible to bring it before the courts for decision, as when the lapse of time has made it impossible to seek an actual remedy for an alleged wrong or when the administrative officers refuse to make

any attempt to exercise a supposed power of theirs, so that the only court before which the question can come for decision is the moot court, the question is now said to have become *moot*. And the latest thing is a corresponding verb: in the *Civil Liberties Quarterly* for March, 1944, I read: 'A few contests of the orders are still pending in the courts. One brought by Homer G. Wilcox of "Mankind United" was virtually mooted by the action of the military authorities in suspending the order, but since it is still legally in effect the appeal may be heard.'

'Good and'

The *NED* lists *good* as an intensive before another adjective; and its supplement volume, together with the *DAE,* lists *good and* as an American intensive before adjective or adverb; but they do not discuss the matter as thoroughly as they might.

We omit the *and* before an adjective that precedes its noun, but insert it before a predicate adjective (or any adjective after its noun) or an adverb. Thus a printing trade journal, printing an anecdote about a foreman who marked a proof 'The red must be good and black; otherwise O K,' correctly worded its headline 'A Good Black Red.' We do not use *good and* before an adverb that formally shows its adverbial character: the adverb to follow *good and* must look like an adjective. Thus, we cannot say *good and quietly* or *good and carefully,* nor, adverbially, *good and well,* though adjectivally 'till you get good and well' is all right. We do not object to using *good and* before a word of evil connotation, but the contradiction to *good* must not be formal: we can say 'the apples are getting good and rotten' but not 'the apples are getting good and bad'; 'he is good and thievish' is acceptable, but not 'he is good and wicked.'

The dictionaries classify *good and* in this use as an adverb. Certainly its force must be adverbial when it precedes an adverb, as 'it is raining good and hard'; and the use before a predicate adjective has substantially the value of an intensive adverb. But then why not 'good and quietly'? I think our feeling is that in this locution *good* is still essentially an adjective, and the same is true of the word that follows the *and* (regardless of whether it can be proved that in earlier English this word was formally an adverb), and that in 'talk good and loud' or 'drive good and slow' the two words connected by *and* are used as cognate accusatives or on some other principle of giving adverbial force to an adjective which remains an adjective. Surely it is contrary to our feeling to say that in 'the red must be good and black' and 'a good black red' *good* is two different parts of speech.

'Know-how'

I venture to assert that the source of *know-how* as noun is a certain anecdote which had a good deal of currency in print years ago. One negro was complaining to an-

other of the high charge made for some operation that had not taken much time or exertion. The other cited a parallel case in their own sphere of life, and then explained that 'fifty cents was for what de doctor did; de oder $9.50 was for de know-how!' It is of course conceivable that some later user of the expression may have coined it independently, but I do not think so; I think the word was taken up out of that anecdote into the language of some moralistic instructors of youth, and survived among them till it lately rose up into general use.

'Probate,' vb.

One of our recent improvements in penology is *probation*. Apparently a need is being felt for a corresponding verb. For in the *Christian Century* for March 8, 1944, p. 304, Denny Wilcher writes, 'Probations from the court have been granted to a few men who were obviously misclassified. This has evoked strenuous protest from the Selective Service System. So most of the judges who would prefer to *probate* sincere men to Civilian Public Service camps have sent them on to jail.'

STEVEN T. BYINGTON
Ballard Vale, Massachusetts

SHIPYARD TERMS OF THE NORTHWEST, 1944 STYLE

For several years I have been interested in the colloquial language, or, to use a hackneyed term, the 'slanguage' of ship workers and have collected expressions used by them. A call for contributions was made, August 27, 1942, in *The Bos'n's Whistle*, a bi-weekly publication of the Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation of Portland and the Kaiser Company Incorporated of Vancouver and Swan Island, and the response was gratifying. Much interest was manifested and many expressions were sent in. Following is my list as at present compiled.

AFTER-BIRTH. This slang phrase is a good example of a borderline case between the accepted general language and the 'obscene' words used by men workers as slang names for objects or processes. In this instance the word refers to the sliding ways and paraphernalia that stay with the ship during launching, which must be taken from the ship after it reaches the outfitting dock. The appearance of this material when it is lifted from the water by a crane makes this term more appropriate than might be supposed.

ARISTOCRATS OF THE BRISTLE. Painters selected for a particular finishing job calling for exacting work.

BALONEY. Electric cable for traveling cranes.

BARK GANG. Painters who apply the flint coat—an asphalt emulsion used behind insulation in cabins. Possibly derived from the rough bark-like appearance of the coating.

BOSS. This refers either to the superintendent or to the protuberant curved portion of the hull around the propeller shaft.

CABLE-RAVELLER. Rigger.

CANARY. Plug-in panel on an electrical distribution unit.

CHALK TALKER. A layout man who inscribes patterns for cutting or assembling, using a chalk to mark on the steel.

CHERRY PICKER. Small traveling crane. Possible derivation is from the appearance of the hoist, which resembles the long extension ladder used in fruit picking.

CHRISTMAS TREE. Auxiliary steam

manifold with lines and valves in all directions.

COKE. Cement.

COME-ALONG. A wire-tightening machine.

DIAPER PLATE. Plate that fits around the opening in the stern for the rudder post.

DOG HOUSE. Any small shack erected around the yard for temporary office purposes.

EXPEDITORS (EXPEDITERS). Template (gauge, pattern, or mold) storage maintains expeditors on the job 24 hours a day in the plate shop. Duties are to maintain a perpetual inventory of all molds in the shop, and to otherwise make themselves useful in promoting efficiency.

FAKE. A nautical term, not in common use, referring to a complete circle of rope coiled free for running.

GET HIGH BEHIND. Bend over and put your shoulder to the wheel.

GOLD ROOM. Warehouse where all valuable parts are kept, applied because of the difficulty of obtaining such material through any other than authorized channels.

HAREM. Cluster of female electric outlets.

HAY. Not the new-mown variety, but heavy timbers or other material used as a base, upon which heavy steel plates are piled. The nickname was given to the material by riggers who use the 'hay' in piling hull material. Since the timbers are piled in log-cabin fashion between the plates, the derivation is possibly from the word 'haye,' an old French interweaving dance. (Riggers were frequently former loggers and use many words of French-Canadian derivation.)

HEADACHE. Not the quest for an aspirin tablet but a warning to look up and beware of objects moving overhead. A term easier to use than 'Heads Up!'

HOOK BAITER. Not a fisherman's valet, but the 'rigger' who attaches hooks and clamps on a load to be hoisted by a crane.

KETTLE BUSTER. Boilermaker.

MAGAZINE. Space in the ship where ammunition is stored.

NIFTIES. Not a brand of candy bar, but refers to girls who have replaced men in warehouses as truckers and materials handlers.

NO WOMAN'S LAND. Shipyards before women 'victory' workers were employed.

OLD MAN. When applied to an inanimate object refers to any kind of extension, handle or lever which gives the operator more power when working.

PELICAN HOOK. A type of quick releasing hook used where fast work is necessary, one side of which resembles a pelican's pouch.

PIG. Welding machine, so named from its appearance, which is very like that of a large sow, even to the legs.

PIG BANK. Line-up of welding machines.

PIG PEN. Portable shelter for welding machines.

QUINELLA. Saturday and Sunday off together. The term is used in dog races where the better must pick two winners on a single ticket.

RABBET. Not strictly a slang phrase, but occasionally used out of its true meaning, which is a groove cut out of the edge or face of any body. The word is often used by novices to refer to any depression.

ROD BURNER. A rod burner is not a hobo who rides freight trains, but refers to a welder. The 'rod' is an electrode inserted into a holder, called a 'stinger,' through which an electric current is passed. When connected to the base metal there is created a fusion process in which the heat is obtained from an arc of approximately 6000 degrees F. Metal is passed from the rod along the arc by capillary attraction in an arc of proper length for welding. Too long an arc will create an oxide and nitride content too high for a good weld deposit. A too short arc will result in insufficient penetration and an equally unsatisfactory weld. The correct length of the arc cannot be specified in inches because it varies in relation to the diameter, type or thickness of the electrode—a proper arc is never longer than the diameter of the maximum size drop of molten metal that

forms on the electrode end. Extreme caution must be observed by the welder to protect his skin and eyes from the intense glaring light created by the arc.

ROSE BOX. The enlarged end of a suction pipe which forms a strainer. Probable derivation: term 'rosette,' applying to a similar strainer-facing on a pipe end shaped like a rosette.

SAMPSON POST. The vertical post that supports cargo booms; the derivation of its name is obvious.

SHROUD. A nautical term applying to ropes extending from mast to vessel's sides. The term has been adopted in shipyard use to refer to ropes for various uses.

SLAB HAPPY. Man who has worked with slab steel for a long time.

SMOKE EATERS. Not a variation on De Quincey, but welders, or burners who work around the smoke caused by welding.

SMOKEY JOE. A machine used to mix plastic armor which is applied to the vulnerable parts of a ship, and protect it from gun fire. The ingredients of plastic armor are heat-treated while being mixed and cause heavy dark clouds of smoke to rise from the machine—hence the name.

SNY. To twist, as in converting a flat plate into an uneven warped shape. Not a true slang word.

SPIDER. A painter who climbs to high places on the scaffold.

SPUD WRENCH. Heavy duty straight opening structural wrench with long tapered handle resembling the English Spud spade.

SUGAR. Though sometimes an endearing term, in shipyards usually refers to a welding flux [substance] which is used in automatic welding and resembles coarse brown sugar or sand. This process is usually referred to as Union Melt welding. The welding rod is a bronze-coated wire, fed automatically to the operation by a motor at the same time a stream of 'sugar' or flux is fed from a hopper over the point of operation. The arc is covered by the flux, keeping out oxygen, and melting to a glass covering which causes the weld to anneal as it cools. This glassy coating is quickly cracked off when it cools.

WAR PAINT. Two coats of slate gray paint, put on a Liberty ship.

WELDERETTE. The unofficial term for female welders.

WOODEN INDIAN. Loafer.

In building a Liberty ship approximately 2,000 men, comprising eight different classifications of shipbuilders, are employed on the assembly platforms. *Layout men* mark the lines to be followed by erection crews and designate types and positions for welds. *Shipfitters* fit the various fabricated parts to lines. *Welders* fit and weld sectional pieces to prefabricate larger units. *Burners* cut off excess material, size plates, cut holes where needed. *Chippers* groove plates for welding, smooth off edges, chip off braces and clean up welding slag. *Fairing men* remove all bulges and irregularities on plate surfaces. *Cranemen* transport materials under the direction of riggers.

HAL BABBITT

Portland, Oregon

TRADE-NAME NOVELTIES

'Cool *Jumperalls,* so practical for garden or war work, in checked and faded blue denims.' Department store advertisement, Spring, 1944.

'The ideal way to keep your baby's shoes. Have them *"Solidized"* for permanency. . . . No materials vital to the war effort used in *Solid-izing,* which replaces original Bron-Shoe Process for the duration.' Department store advertisement, April 2, 1944.

'Halo *Candoliers*—Three tall

graceful candles with electric light bulb . . . attractive mantel or window decoration.' Department store advertisement, April, 1944.

Jeeps is the name given a make of shoe 'in white or army russet with popular wedgie heel.' May 31, 1944.

Skinthetic Leg Make-Up was advertised by department stores, May, 1944.

'Here's a shoe for *everywhere wear.*' Sign in the shoe department of a large store. May, 1944.

'Slacks for your casual life. Styled with *boxy* jackets or short *weskits.* Clever *de-tailoring* in contrasting colors.' Department store advertisement, May, 1944.

Protekshoe Trees, 'These are just what you want to protect your shoes,' are on sale at shoe stores, June, 1944.

Sportimer Jackets 'in high shades' are advertised in ready-to-wear store, June, 1944.

Interchemical corporation's contributions to American progress include *Polymerin,* the original speed-bake industrial finish; *Vaporin,* inks for finer, faster magazine printing; *Raposet,* instant drying packaging inks; *Aridye,* more permanent, easier-to-apply textile colors.—Advertisement in *Fortune,* November, 1943, p. 89.

'NIGHTINGALE'

A significance of this word not mentioned in the dictionaries is conveyed in the following memorandum by a 75-year old informant whose early years were spent in a number of cities in the upper Mississippi Valley. If the word in this meaning is a localism, that must be its home, and despite the mixed associations referred to, the linguistic source must be English.

Regarding your request that I try to recall the possible source of the name 'Nightingale' as applied to the crocheted cover for the lid of a certain once-necessary article of bed-room equipment, I find very confused possibilities.

It was about sixty-eight years ago that I remember first hearing the name. At that time I lived with a North of Ireland grandmother, an English grandfather, a mother educated in the schools of the U.S.A., an American father who had been educated in Canada, with certain French influence, and an aunt, educated in a Germant convent. We had a South of Ireland maid and a German washerwoman.

Of course the influence of the English grandfather and the American father could be eliminated, as ladies, in those days, would not discuss or, possibly, even name such intimate articles as the Nightingale, in the presence of gentlemen—that is, not publicly, though there might be some private exchange of confidences which might have some bearing on the name. Be that as it may, it was from that time that I remember the name 'Nightingale' being used in my family, until modern plumbing placed the article for which it was used in the category of antiques.

M. L. W.

HARD-WORKED LOCUTIONS

I suppose that all government agencies have their own official jargon, but I can speak with knowledge of only one of them, the United States Employment Service, in which I have been working as an interviewer for the past two years. During that time I have often been amused at the constant recurrence of certain catchwords

and phrases in memoranda, 'directives,' bulletins, and other printed materials and also in the lectures given in various training courses. Some of the most common which occur to me at the moment are the following: *breakdown* ('The *breakdown* by sex shows a ratio of 10 men to 3 women'), *implement, highlight* ('The comments serve to *highlight* the tables'), *point up, head up* ('Mr. Jones has been selected to *head up* the organization'), *upgrading, channels* ('Information will be forthcoming through appropriate *channels*'), *clear* ('Such news releases are to be *cleared* through the central office'), and *level* ('This matter will be handled at the regional *level*').

This week, however, brought a refreshing change from the hackneyed expressions to which we are accustomed. In a Civil Service bulletin (May 25), titled 'Veterans Placement,' there appears this sentence: '. . . a number of new laws and regulations are in the making which *will* almost certainly *obsolete* anything we might have given you during the past couple of months.' And the latest number of the *Manpower Review* (XII, 5, May, 1944) uses 'amputee' to refer to soldiers who have lost limbs through amputation.

PAUL G. BREWSTER
Bloomington, Indiana

'WHIPPING THE CAT'

In a list of terms from Australian popular speech, Sidney J. Baker (*Family and Teleradio,* June 17, 1943, p. 32) includes a new, or at least a somewhat different, meaning for the expression 'whipping the cat,' which was much discussed in earlier volumes of *American Speech.* He defines it as meaning 'to cry over spilt milk.' Richardson Wright testified (*Am. Sp.,* 1: 680, September, 1926) that in early American times when an apprentice had been graduated into the journeyman class he started around the country seeking work. This phase was known as 'whipping the cat.' Mr. Wright inquired as to the currency of the expression and its origin. Another inquirer, H.P.J. of Cambridge, Massachusetts (*Am. Sp.,* 2: 254, February, 1927), noted the occurrence of 'whipping the cat' in Sylvester Judd's New England novel *Margaret* (1851). Roscoe Schaupp (*Am. Sp.,* 3: 11, October, 1927) pointed out an instance in a story, 'Helen of the Hundred Waves,' by Beatrice Grimshaw, the novelist of Australia and the South Sea islands (*Saturday Evening Post,* March, 1927), in which the phrase seems to mean something like making a to-do or making the rounds about something. 'That would be what old Pollock is whipping the cat about.' When written to, the novelist replied from her home in Papua that she merely repeated the expression as she had heard it but knew nothing of its origin or its exact meaning. Mary Peterson, of Washington, D.C. (*Am. Sp.,* 3: 445, August, 1928), supplied a conjectural origin for it in some vague association with the old institution of the cat-o-nine-tails which was used in flogging. 'When anyone

makes a great fuss about something, talking or thrashing around generally, he may be said to be "whipping the cat." ' Finally, the expression and related expressions, with a canvass of lexicographical material, were treated at some length in *American Speech,* Vol. 4, pp. 352-354 (June, 1929). Baker's note of 1943 concerning its occurrence in Australian slang gives evidence of the continued vitality of the phrase and supplies a new meaning for it.

L. P.

'JEEP,' 'GOON,' AND 'JIGGER'

In the *American Speech* Miscellany for February, 1943, there is an article by Jeffrey Fleece of Vanderbilt University on the words *jeep, goon,* etc., to which I should like to offer a supplementary note.

Mr. Fleece says that *goon* is the invention of the cartoonist Segar, that it first appeared in the comic strip of Popeye the Sailor 'something over five years ago' (Dec. 6, 1937). But in *Harper's Magazine,* December, 1921, there is an article by Frederick L. Allen entitled 'The Goon and his Style,' in which the word is used, though not in Segar's manner. The pertinent parts of this article are too long to quote in full, but let me summarize from it:

> A goon is a person with a heavy touch as distinguished from a jigger, who has a light touch. While jiggers look on life with a genial eye, goons take a more stolid and literal view. It is reported that George Washington was a goon, whereas Lincoln was a jigger. Gladstone seems to have been a goon, Disraeli a jigger.

Mr. Allen also forms the adjective *goonish:*

> A goonish style is one that reads as if it were the work of a goon. It is thick and heavy.

This meaning of *goon* is not incompatible with Segar's use of it. He simply personifies it on paper, and then invests it with further fantastic characteristics such as his fertile brain often produced. Segar's *goon* may be a descendant, and is surely at least a cousin, of Allen's *goon.*

I have no clue to the origin of this word, but if some reader knows Mr. Allen, he would do us all a service by asking him about it. Mr. Allen is undoubtedly a jigger, and wouldn't mind. (*Jigger,* by the way, is surely to be taken in a pre-jitterbuggian sense.)

If I were to hazard a guess, it would be that both these terms were in use on the campus of Mr. Allen's alma mater, and that he is using them in his article with an eye to catching, through their grotesque appeal, the vagrant attention of writers of freshman themes.

F. G. CASSIDY
University of Wisconsin

'FESTIVAL'

That *festival* is still a popular word, as maintained by W. L. Werner (*Am. Sp.,* Feb. 1944, p. 74), who questions the statement of Kemp Malone (*Am. Sp.,* Apr. 1943, p. 139) that the word is too formal in style to be 'popular,' is illustrated by frequent newspaper items such as the following: 'Over five hundred attended an annual

festival service at the First Presbyterian Church Sunday afternoon' (Lincoln, Nebraska, *State Journal,* January 31, 1944). There are also numerous 'folk festivals' held in many cities of the United States, as well as a National Folk Festival Association.

PROGENY OF 'KNOW-HOW'

The *News Letter* of Ohio State University (Vol. 9, no. 2, Nov. 1943) had, 'If the above type might be described as giving the "know-how" the following type may be considered as giving the *"know-why."* The *know-why* materials were of several kinds.'

'Show-How: a Revolution in Management' is the title of an article by Stuart Chase in the *Reader's Digest,* October, 1943, pp. 79-82.

'SUGAR WEATHER' AND 'CRAZY WEATHER'

To the long list of weather terms[1] that have been noted in *American Speech* should be added *sugar weather* and *crazy weather.*

'Alternate freezing and thawing, crisp, cold nights, and warm, sunshiny days are what make "sugar weather," ' writes Mr. C. S. Cook of Burlington, Vermont, in the March, 1944, *News and Views,* a house organ of General Motors Acceptance Corporation.

'Sugar weather,' he continues in his article 'Maple Sugar Time,' 'in the New England states may begin the first of March and last through April. It begins as the winter is breaking with the first warm days of spring and ends when the leaf buds of the sugar maple trees begin to swell. Then the sap flows strongly and drips steadily into the bucket.'

'Crazy weather' is defined in *Newsweek* of March 6, 1944, in a review of Charles McNichols' novel *Crazy Weather.* The valley of the Colorado River in Arizona, according to Mr. McNichols, is occasionally subject to a strange meteorological phenomenon. A great mass of steaming jungle air rolls up from Mexico, driving the mercury to 110 degrees by 7 in the morning and lasting as long as four days before fierce electrical storms dispel it. The natives call it 'crazy weather.' It was during a spell of such weather that Mr. McNichols' hero, a white boy, decided to become an Indian.

M. J. M.

University of Nebraska

PRESS NOTES

Filibust is the side-head for a paragraph telling of a 'brief fidgety filibuster, conducted on the floor of the Senate by William S. Langer, North Dakota Republican.' *Newsweek,* Dec. 27, 1943.

'Jack Kearns, the former pilot of champions, is now promoting fights in Chicago. His first *promotorial* effort drew 8,000 fans.' Sport page cartoon, May 28, 1944.

---

1. 'Shirt sleeve weather,' 'Indian summer,' 'Indian winter,' 'squaw winter,' 'dogwood winter,' 'blackberry winter,' and 'onion snow'—to name a few.

'This commentator then defended Wheeler's right of free speech in an *airitorial* concluding "We believe in Senator Wheeler's right—to be wrong." ' Newspaper columnist, January 5, 1944.

'Hollis Limprecht, former night *sportsed* of the Journal promoted to first looey in Italy.' Lincoln, Nebraska, *Evening Journal,* June 5, 1944.

Printers' Ink, November, 1943, used the old Southern saying, 'Put the big pot in the little one, mama, the company is coming,' in an advertisement, explaining that it meant 'Get out the feed bag and put on the best bib and tucker.'

'Lincoln Remarkably Free from *Meatlegging.*' Headline in Lincoln, Nebraska *Star,* February 19, 1943.

'Several *glamoiselles* are being cut from their rich fellers' payrolls.' Newspaper gossip column, Jan. 12, 1944.

LANGUAGE NOTES

Gwibit is the name used late in 1943 by Representative Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota of the 'Guild of Washington Incompetent Bureaucratic Idea Throatcutters . . . a new *Species Capitalensis.*' 'Give a gwibit enough rope and he is sure to hogtie something! . . . A *gwibitzer* is not to be confused with a kibitzer; the latter merely stands on the sidelines and watches while the former sits in the path of progress and trips those who would traverse it.'

E. H. McClelland of the Carnegie Library, writing in *Science,* objects to the type of scientific writing in which 'a noun modifies a noun modifies a noun modifies a verb.' Some of the examples he cites are: 'Rudder control mechanism sequence,' 'material control shortage group,' 'instrument approach procedure summary.' He doubts whether many of those reading such sentences will understand their exact meaning. 'Surely,' he remarked, 'one of the most important functions of language is to convey information to the uninformed, and the language of science should be written not only so that it can be understood, but so that it cannot be misunderstood.'

'President Roosevelt has signed a bill ordaining that henceforth skim milk shall be called *"dry milk solids."* Sympathizing heartily with the purpose of the law, we must say of the new name that it isn't to our taste; we can't pronounce it chaste. It smacks of the Government *wordery* with a million o' words to waste.' Editorial in New York *Times,* March 6, 1944.

Mr. Maury Maverick of San Antonio, Texas, gives the name of 'Gobbledygook language' to the peculiar verbal expression of the Washington bureaucrats. He gave an order, about March, 1944, to workers in the Smaller War Plants Corporation instructing them to 'abandon Gobbledygook and write English.' Two of the words concerning which he was most vehement are *activation* and *implementation.*

According to an April issue of the Chicago *Tribune,* the WPB has

ruled that a popular type of garment is no longer to be referred to in the plural, 'slacks,' but in the singular, *'a slack.'* 'She looks well in a slack.' Many are not sanguine as to popular adoption of the change.

'100%' AS AN ATTRIBUTIVE

On his program of January 6, 1944, the 'mystery chef' of the Blue Networks radio program read a letter he had received. The letter contained this sentence: 'I tried your recipe and it turned out 100%.' Now mathematically, a recipe yielding 100% would refer to quantity, but of course in the foregoing instance quality, not quantity, was meant. Thus '100%' is attributive, a synonym for 'perfect.' I have also heard the expression used in such remarks as 'She is 100%,' or 'It was a 100% party.'

LOUISE ACKERMAN

Lincoln, Nebraska

'ABUSED SPANISH' PLACE NAMES IN TEXAS

Bunavista is the name of a Texas town born of war and government for the production of synthetic rubber, says the *Philnews* of April, 1944, a publication for the employees of the Phillips Petroleum Company of Bartlesville, Oklahoma. The name, it adds, is a 'fermentation of petroleum industry and abused Spanish.'

'Everything at Bunavista, including the streets,' continues the *Philnews,* 'is of the rubber-Spanish-Texas influence.' Adobe, Caliche, Dolamito, Estireno, Frontera and Butadieno are some of the street names. Others are named for Texas flowers—Amaryllis, Blue Bonnet, Cactus, and Dahlia.

C. D. P.

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS

The *International Journal of American Linguistics,* edited by the late Franz Boas of Columbia University, is now to be continued. Publication will be resumed by Indiana University under the auspices of the Linguistic Society of America and of the American Anthropological Association. The new editor will be C. F. Voegelin, with associate editors continuing: Paul Rivet, C. C. Uhlenbeck, William Thalbitzer, and Leonard Bloomfield.

Beginning with the Fall quarter of 1944 the journal will appear as a regular quarterly. It will aggregate about two hundred and fifty double-column pages annually. Other than this, it is planned to continue the general policy of the journal, as edited by Franz Boas, without substantial change.

Subscriptions (four dollars a year) will be received by the Business Manager, Stith Thompson, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XIX DECEMBER, 1944 NUMBER 4

American Profanity . . . . . H. L. MENCKEN 241
Pronunciation of Upstate New York Place-Names . . . . . L. SPRAGUE DE CAMP 250
Olympians, Hurricanes, and Vultures . . . . . ARTHUR MINTON 266
The Literature of Pidgin English . . . . . SIDNEY J. BAKER 271
Words and the War . . . . . HENRY ALEXANDER 276
Phonetic Transcription 281
Editorials and Reviews 284

George P. Wilson, *American Dialect Dictionary* by Harold Wentworth; George R. Stewart, Some American Place-Name Problems; Bob Trout, Some Notes on H. L. Mencken's 'War Words in England'

Bibliography 296
Among the New Words 302
Miscellany 308
Index 313

Editor, WILLIAM CABELL GREET, *Barnard College*

Managing Editor, ELLIOTT V. K. DOBBIE

Associate Editor, JANE DORSEY ZIMMERMAN

Editorial Associates

LOUISE POUND, HARRY MORGAN AYRES, HOWARD J. SAVAGE
HAROLD W. BENTLEY, ALLEN WALKER READ

ADVISORY BOARD

1943–1944

HENRY ALEXANDER, *Queen's Univ.*
EINAR HAUGEN, *Univ. of Wisconsin*
MARGARET M. BRYANT, *Brooklyn College*
GEORGE R. STEWART, *Univ. of California*
G. P. WILSON, *No. Car. Woman's College*
DELANCEY FERGUSON, *Brooklyn College*

1944–1945

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, *New York Univ.*
E. E. ERICSON, *Univ. of No. Car.*
JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE, *Univ. of Virginia*
R-M. S. HEFFNER, *Univ. of Wisconsin*
JAMES B. MCMILLAN, *Univ. of Alabama*
S. I. HAYAKAWA, *Illinois Inst. of Technology*

CONTRIBUTORS' COLUMN FOR DECEMBER, 1944

¶L. Sprague de Camp is an engineer, an editor, and a free-lance writer specializing in fantastic fiction and popularized science. He is an amateur phonetician, and has spent much of his life in upstate New York. He is at present on active duty as a Lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserve. ¶Arthur Minton will be remembered as the author of 'Parlor Music,' in *American Speech* for December, 1938, and of 'Presto-Rush,' in our issue of April, 1940. ¶We are happy to publish in this issue another article by Sidney J. Baker, the Australian lexicographer, two of whose articles appeared in *American Speech* during 1943. ¶Henry Alexander is Professor of English Language at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. He is the author of *The Place Names of Oxfordshire* (1912) and of *The Story of Our Language* (1940). ¶As our readers will surmise from his discussion of the blackout and his mention of 'the present period of invasion alarms and feints,' Bob Trout's letter on pp. 292-295 was written in May of this year, shortly after his return from England. We are sorry that we were not able to print it sooner; but even at this late date we preferred to print it without editorial alterations. ¶We regret to announce that A. H. Sylvester, the author of 'Place-Naming in the Northwest' in our December, 1943, issue, died on September 14, 1944, at the age of 73. His death was the result of his being thrown from a horse at Lake Margaret, while on a trip to his beloved 'high country.' ¶E. Bagby Atwood, who for two years has collaborated with Joseph Jones on our bibliography of Present Day English, is now in Europe with the American Red Cross. We are sorry to lose him, but we hope that some day he will again be one of our collaborators. Professor Jones, who is now carrying on the Present Day English section by himself, would find his labors considerably lightened if he could enlarge his committee of readers. Any of our friends who would like to contribute to the bibliography are cordially invited to get in touch with him.

American Speech is published four times a year (No. 1, Feb.—No. 2, Apr.—No. 3, Oct.—No. 4, Dec.) by Columbia University Press: Single copies, $1.00 (foreign, $1.10)—$4.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, $4.30). Subscribers should notify the Publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect.

Manuscripts, editorial communications, and books for review should be addressed to The Editor of *American Speech*, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Subscriptions and business correspondence should be addressed to *American Speech*, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, or 450 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis.

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1938, at the post office at Menasha, Wis., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1945 by Columbia University Press.